



P. Simon Sculpsit

Mr. Alexander Pope



THE *James Barry*
I L I A D
OF
H O M E R.

TRANSLATED BY MR. POPE.

VOL. I.

*Te sequor, O Graiæ gentis Decus ! inque tuis nunc
Fixa pedum pono pressis vestigia signis :
Non ita certandi cupidus, quàm propter amorem,
Quòd te imitari aveau—* LUCRET.

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P R E F A C E.

HO M E R is universally allowed to have had the greatest *Invention* of any writer whatever. The praise of judgment *Virgil* has justly contested with him, and others may have their pretensions as to particular excellencies; but his invention remains yet unrivalled. Nor is it a wonder if he has ever been acknowledged the greatest of poets, who most excelled in that which is the very foundation of poetry. It is the Invention that in different degrees distinguishes all great Geniuses: The utmost stretch of human study, learning, and industry, which masters every thing besides, can never attain to this. It furnishes art with all her materials, and, without it, Judgment itself can at best but *steal swifely*: For art is only like a prudent steward that lives on managing the riches of Nature. Whatever praises may be given to works of judgment, there is not even a single beauty in them but is owing to the invention: As in the most regular gardens, however art may carry the greatest appearance, there is not

a plant or flower but is the gift of Nature. The first can only reduce the beauties of the latter into a more obvious figure, which the common eye may better take in, and is therefore more entertained with them. And perhaps the reason why most Criticks are inclined to prefer a judicious and methodical genius to a great and fruitful one, is, because they find it easier for themselves to pursue their observations through an uniform and bounded walk of art, than to comprehend the vast and various extent of nature.

Our author's work is a wild Paradise, where if we cannot see all the beauties so distinctly as in an ordered Garden, it is only because the number of them is infinitely greater. 'Tis like a copious nursery which contains the seeds and first productions of every kind, out of which those who followed him have but selected some particular plants, each according to his fancy, to cultivate and beautify. If some things are too luxuriant, it is owing to the richness of the soil; and if others are not arrived to perfection or maturity, it is only because they are over-run and oppressed by those of a stronger nature.

It is to the strength of this amazing invention we are to attribute that unequal fire and rapture, which is so forcible in *Homer*, that no man of a true poetical spirit is master of himself while he reads him. What he writes is of the most animated nature imaginable; every thing moves, every thing lives, and is put in action. If a council be called or a battle fought, you are not coldly informed of what was said or done, as from a third person; the reader is hurried out of himself by the force of the Poet's imagination, and turns in one place to a hearer,

hearer, in another to a spectator. The course of his verses resembles that of the army he describes,

Οἱ δ' ἀπ' ἰσθμῶν, ὡς τε πυρὶ χθὼν πᾶσα ῥέουσιν.

They pour along like a fire that sweeps the whole earth before it. 'Tis however remarkable that his fancy, which is every where vigorous, is not discovered immediately at the beginning of his poem in its fullest splendor: It grows in the progress both upon himself and others, and becomes on fire, like a chariot-wheel, by its own rapidity. Exact disposition, just thought, correct elocution, polished numbers, may have been found in a thousand; but this poetical fire, this *Vivida vis animi*, in a very few. Even in works where all those are imperfect or neglected, this can over-power criticism, and make us admire even while we disapprove. Nay, where this appears, though attended with absurdities, it brightens all the rubbish about it, 'till we see nothing but its own splendor. This *Fire* is discerned in *Virgil*, but discerned as thro' a glass, reflected from *Homer*, more shining than fierce, but every where equal and constant; In *Lucan* and *Statius*, it bursts out in sudden, short, and interrupted flashes: In *Milton*, it glows like a furnace kept up to an uncommon ardor by the force of art; In *Shakespear*, it strikes before we are aware, like an accidental fire from heaven: But in *Homer*, and in him only, it burns every where clearly, and every where irresistibly.

I shall here endeavour to show, how this vast *Invention* exerts itself in a manner superior to that of any Poet, through all the main constituent parts of his

work, as it is the great and peculiar characteristick which distinguishes him from all other authors.

This strong and ruling faculty was like a powerful Star, which, in the violence of its course, drew all things within its *vortex*. It seemed not enough to have taken in the whole circle of arts, and the whole compass of nature; all the inward passions and affections of mankind, to supply his characters; and all the outward forms and images of things for his descriptions; but wanting yet an ampler sphere to expatiate in, he opened a new and boundless walk for his imagination, and created a world for himself in the invention of *Fable*. That which *Aristotle* calls the *Soul of Poetry*, was first breathed into it by *Homer*. I shall begin with considering him in this part, as it is naturally the first, and I speak of it both as it means the design of a poem, and as it is taken for fiction.

Fable may be divided into the *probable*, the *allegorical*, and the *marvellous*. The *probable fable* is the recital of such actions as though they did not happen, yet might, in the common course of Nature: Or of such as, though they did, become fables by the additional episodes and manner of telling them. Of this sort is the main story of an Epic poem, the return of *Ulysses*, the settlement of the Trojans in Italy, or the like. That of the *Iliad* is the anger of *Achilles*, the most short and single subject that ever was chosen by any Poet. Yet this he has supplied with a vaster variety of incidents and events, and crouded with a greater number of councils, speeches, battles, and episodes of all kinds, than are to be found even in those poems whose schemes are
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of the utmost latitude and irregularity. The action is hurried on with the most vehement spirit, and its whole duration employs not so much as fifty days. *Virgil*, for want of so warm a genius, aided himself by taking in a more extensive subject, as well as a greater length of time, and contracting the design of both *Homer's* poems into one, which is yet but a fourth part as large as his. The other Epic Poets have used the same practice, but generally carried it on so far as to superinduce a multiplicity of fables, destroy the unity of the action, and lose their readers in an unreasonable length of time. Nor is it only in the main design that they have been unable to add to his invention, but they have followed him in every episode and part of story. If he has given a regular catalogue of an army, they all draw up their forces in the same order. If he has funeral games for *Patroclus*, *Virgil* has the same for *Anchises*, and *Statius* (rather than omit them) destroys the unity of his action for those of *Archemorus*. If *Ulysses* visit the shades, *Æneas* of *Virgil* and *Scipio* of *Silius* are sent after him. If he be detained from his return by the allurements of *Calypso*, so is *Æneas* by *Dido*, and *Rinaldo* by *Armida*. If *Achilles* be absent from the army on the score of a quarrel thro' half the poem. *Rinaldo* must absent himself just as long on the like account. If he gives his hero a suit of celestial armour, *Virgil* and *Tasso* make the same present to theirs. *Virgil* has not only observed this close imitation of *Homer*, but where he had not led the way supplied the want from other Greek authors. Thus the story of *Sinon* and the taking of *Troy* was copied (says *Macrobius*) almost word for word from *Pisander*, as the loves of *Dido* and *Æneas* are taken from those of

Medea and *Jason* in *Apollonius*, and several others in the same manner.

To proceed to the *allegorical fable*: If we reflect upon those innumerable knowledges, those secrets of nature and physical philosophy, which *Homer* is generally supposed to have wrapt up in his *allegories*, what a new and ample scene of wonder may this consideration afford us? How fertile will that imagination appear, which was able to clothe all the properties of elements, the qualifications of the mind, the virtues and vices, in forms and persons; and to introduce them into actions agreeable to the nature of the things they shadowed; This is a field in which no succeeding Poets could dispute with *Homer*; and whatever commendations have been allowed them on this head, are by no means for their invention in having enlarged his circle, but for their judgment in having contracted it. For when the mode of learning changed in following ages, and science was delivered in a plainer manner, it then became as reasonable in the more modern Poets to lay it aside, as it was in *Homer* to make use of it. And perhaps it was no unhappy circumstance for *Virgil*, that there was not in his time that demand upon him of so great an invention, as might be capable of furnishing all those allegorical parts of a poem.

The *marvellous fable* includes whatever is supernatural, and especially the machines of the Gods. If *Homer* was not the first that introduced the deities (as *Herodotus* imagines) into the religion of *Greece*, he seems the first who brought them into a system of machinery for Poetry, and such a one as makes its greatest importance and dignity. For we find those authors who have been
offended

offended at the literal notion of the Gods, constantly laying their accusation against *Homer* as the undoubted inventor of them. But whatever cause there might be to blame his *machines* in a philosophical or religious view, they are so perfect in the poetick, that mankind have been ever since contented to follow them. None have been able to enlarge the sphere of poetry beyond the limits he has set: every attempt of this nature has proved unsuccessful; and after all the various changes of times and religions, his Gods continue to this day the Gods of poetry.

We come now to the *characters* of his persons: and here we shall find no author has ever drawn so many, with so visible and surprizing a variety, or given us such lively and affecting impressions of them. Every one has something so singularly his own, that no Painter could have distinguished them more by their features, than the Poet has by their manners. Nothing can be more exact than the distinctions he has observed in the different degrees of virtues and vices. The single quality of *courage* is wonderfully diversified in the several characters of the *Iliad*. That of *Achilles* is furious and intractable; that of *Diomed* forward, yet listening to advice, and subject to command: That of *Ajax* is heavy and self-confiding; of *Hector*, active and vigilant. The courage of *Agamemnon* is inspired by love of empire and ambition, that of *Menelaus* mixed with softness and tenderness for his people: We find in *Idomeneus* a plain direct soldier, in *Sarpedon* a gallant and generous one. Nor is this judicious and astonishing diversity to be found only in the principal quality which constitutes the main of each character, but even in the un-

der parts of it, to which he takes care to give a tincture of that principal one. For example, the main characters of *Ulysses* and *Nestor* consist in wisdom: and they are distinct in this, that the wisdom of one is *artificial* and *various*, of the other *natural*, *open* and *regular*. But they have, besides, characters of *courage*; and this quality also takes a different turn in each from the difference of his prudence: for one in the war depends still upon *caution*, the other upon *experience*. It would be endless to produce instances of these kinds. The characters of *Virgil* are far from striking us in this open manner; they lie in a great degree hidden and undistinguished, and where they are marked most evidently, affect us not in proportion to those of *Homer*. His characters of valour are much alike; even that of *Turnus* seems no way peculiar, but as it is in a superior degree; and we see nothing that differences the courage of *Mnestheus* from that of *Sergesthus*, *Cloanthus*, or the rest. In like manner it may be remark'd of *Statius's* heroes, that an air of impetuosity runs thro' them all; the same horrid and savage courage appears in his *Capaneus*, *Tydeus*, *Hippomedon*, &c. They have a parity of character, which makes them seem brothers of one family. I believe when the reader is led into this track of reflection, if he will pursue it thro' the *Epic* and *Tragic* writers, he will be convinced how infinitely superior in this point the invention of *Homer* was to that of all others.

The *speeches* are to be consider'd as they flow from the characters; being perfect or defective as they agree or disagree with the manners of those who utter them. As there is more variety of characters in the *Iliad*, so there

there is of speeches, than in any other poem. *Every thing in it has manners* (as *Aristotle* expresses it) that is every thing is acted or spoken. It is hardly credible in a work of such length, how small a number of lines are employ'd in narration. In *Virgil* the dramatic part is less in proportion to the narrative; and the speeches often consist of general reflections or thoughts, which might be equally just in any person's mouth upon the same occasion. As many of his persons have no apparent characters, so many of his speeches escape being apply'd and judg'd by the rule of propriety. We oftner think of the author himself when we read *Virgil*, than when we are engag'd in *Homer*: All which are the effects of a colder invention, that interests us less in the action describ'd: *Homer* makes us hearers, and *Virgil* leaves us readers.

If in the next place we take a view of the *sentiments*, the same presiding faculty is eminent in the sublimity and spirit of his thoughts. *Longinus* has given his opinion, that it was in this part *Homer* principally excell'd. What were alone sufficient to prove the grandeur and excellence of his sentiments in general, is, that they have so remarkable a parity with those of the Scripture: *Daport* in his *Gnomologia Homerica*, has collected innumerable instances of this sort. And it is with justice an excellent modern writer allows, that if *Virgil* has not so many thoughts that are low and vulgar, he has not so many that are sublime and noble; and that the *Roman* author seldom rises into very astonishing sentiments where he is not fired by the *Iliad*.

If we observe his *descriptions, images, and similes*, we shall find the invention still predominant. To what else can we ascribe the vast comprehension of images of every sort, where we see each circumstance and individual of nature summon'd together by the extent and fecundity of his imagination; to which all things in their various views, presented themselves in an instant, and had their impressions taken off to perfection, at a heat? Nay, he not only gives us the full prospect of things, but several unexpected peculiarities and side-views, unobserv'd by any Painter but *Homer*. Nothing is so surprizing as the descriptions of his battles, which take up no less than half the *Iliad*, and are supply'd with so vast a variety of incidents, that no one bears a likeness to another; such different kinds of deaths, that no two heroes are wounded in the same manner; and such a profusion of noble ideas, that every battle rises above the last in greatness, horror, and confusion. It is certain there is not near that number of Images and descriptions in any Epic Poet; tho' every one has assisted himself with a great quantity out of him: And it is evident of *Virgil* especially, that he has scarce any comparisons which are not drawn from his master.

If we descend from hence to the expression, we see the bright imagination of *Homer* shining out in the most enlivened forms of it. We acknowledge him the father of poetical diction, the first who taught that *language of the Gods* to men. His expression is like the colouring of some great masters, which discovers itself to be laid on boldly, and executed with rapidity. It is indeed the strongest and most glowing imaginable,
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and touched with the greatest spirit. *Aristotle* had reason to say, He was the only Poet who had found out *living words*; there are in him more daring figures and metaphors than in any good author whatever. An arrow is *impatient* to be on the wing, a weapon *thirsts* to drink the blood of an enemy, and the like. Yet his expression is never too big for the sense, but justly great in proportion to it: 'Tis the sentiment that swells and fills out the diction, which rises with it, and forms itself about it. For in the same degree that a thought is warmer, an expression will be brighter; and as that is more strong, this will become more perspicuous: Like glass in the furnace, which grows to a greater magnitude, and refines to a greater clearness, only as the breath within is more powerful, and the heat more intense.

To throw his language more out of prose, *Homer* seems to have affected the *compound epithets*. This was a sort of composition peculiarly proper to poetry, not only as it heighten'd the *diction*, but as it assisted and fill'd the *numbers* with greater sound and pomp, and likewise conduced in some measure to thicken, the *images*. On this last consideration I cannot but attribute these also to the fruitfulness of his invention, since (as he has managed them) they are a sort of supernumerary pictures of the persons or things to which they are join'd. We see the motion of *Hector's* plumes in the epithet *Κορυθαίολος*, the land-scape of mount *Neritus* in that of *Εἰνοσίφυλλος*, and so of others; which particular images could not have been insisted upon so long as to express them in a description (tho' but of a single line) without diverting the reader too much from

from the principal action or figure. As a Metaphor is a short simile, one of these Epithets is a short description.

Lastly, if we consider his *versification*, we shall be sensible what a share of praise is due to his invention in that. He was not satisfy'd with his language as he found it settled in any one part of *Greece*, but search'd thro' its differing *dialects* with this particular view, to beautify and perfect his numbers: He consider'd these as they had a greater mixture of vowels or consonants, and accordingly employ'd them as the verse requir'd either a greater smoothness or strength. What he most affected was the *Ionic*, which has a peculiar sweetness from its never using contractions, and from its custom of resolving the diphthongs into two syllables; so as to make the words open themselves with a more spreading and sonorous fluency. With this he mingled the *Attic* contractions, the broader *Doric*, and the feebler *Æolic*, which often rejects its aspirate, or takes off its accent; and compleated this variety by altering some letters with the licence of poetry. Thus his measures, instead of being fetters to his sense, were always in readiness to run along with the warmth of his rapture, and even to give a farther representation of his notions, in the correspondence of their sounds to what they signify'd. Out of all these he had deriv'd that harmony, which makes us confess he had not only the richest head, but the finest ear in the world. This is so great a truth, that whoever will but consult the tune of his verses, even without understanding them (with the same sort of diligence as we daily see practis'd in the case of

Italian

Italian Operas) will find more sweetness, variety, and majesty of sound, than in any other language or poetry. The beauty of his numbers is allowed by the criticks to be copied but faintly by *Virgil* himself, tho' they are so just to ascribe it to the nature of the *Latin* tongue: Indeed the *Greek* has some advantages both from the natural *sound* of its *words*, and the turn and *cadence* of its *Verse*, which agree with the genius of no other language. *Virgil* was very sensible of this, and used the utmost diligence in working up a more intractable language to whatsoever graces it was capable of; and in particular never fail'd to bring the sound of his line to a beautiful agreement with its sense. If the *Grecian* poet has not been so frequently celebrated on this account as the *Roman*, the only reason is, that fewer criticks have understood one language than the other. *Dionysius of Halicarnassus* has pointed out many of our author's beauties in this kind, in his treatises of the *Composition of Words*, and others will be taken notice of in the course of my Notes. It suffices at present to observe of his numbers, that they flow with so much ease, as to make one imagine *Homer* had no other care than to transcribe as fast as the *Muses* dictated; and at the same time with so much force and inspiring vigour, that they awaken and raise us like the sound of a trumpet. They roll along as a plentiful river, always in motion, and always full; while we are borne away by a tide of verse, the most rapid, and yet the most smooth imaginable.

Thus on whatever side we contemplate *Homer*, what principally strikes us is his *invention*. It is that
which

which forms the character of each part of his work ; and accordingly we find it to have made his fable more *extensive* and *copious* than any other, his manners more *lively* and *strongly marked*, his speeches more *affecting* and *transported*, his sentiments more *warm* and *sublime*, his images and descriptions more *full* and *animated*, his expressions more *rais'd* and *daring*, and his numbers more *rapid* and *various*. I hope in what has been said of *Virgil*, with regard to any of these heads, I have no way derogated from his character. Nothing is more absurd or endless, than the common method of comparing eminent writers by an opposition of particular passages in them, and forming a judgment from thence of their merit upon the whole. We ought to have a certain knowledge of the principal character and distinguishing excellence of each : It is in *that* we are to consider him, and in proportion to his degree in *that* we are to admire him. No author or man ever excell'd all the world in more than one faculty, and as *Homer* has done this in *invention*, *Virgil* has in *judgment*. Not that we are to think *Homer* wanted judgment, because *Virgil* had it in a more eminent degree ; or that *Virgil* wanted invention, because *Homer* possess'd a larger share of it : Each of these great authors had more of both than perhaps any man besides, and are only said to have less in comparison with one another. *Homer* was the greater genius, *Virgil* the better artist. In one we must admire the man, in the other the work. *Homer* hurries and transports us with a commanding impetuosity, *Virgil* leads us with an attractive majesty : *Homer* scatters with a generous profusion, *Virgil* bestows with

with a careful magnificence: *Homer*, like the *Nile*, pours out his riches with a sudden overflow; *Virgil*, like a river within its banks, a gentle and constant stream. When we behold their battles, methinks the two Poets resemble the Heroes they celebrate: *Homer*, boundless and irresistible as *Achilles*, bears all before him, and shines more and more as the tumult increases; *Virgil*, calmly daring like *Æneas*, appears undisturbed in the midst of the action, disposes all about him, and conquers with tranquillity. And when we look upon their machines, *Homer* seems like his own *Jupiter* in his terrors, shaking *Olympus*, scattering the lightnings, and firing the Heavens; *Virgil*, like the same power in his benevolence, counselling with the Gods, laying plans for empires, and regularly ordering his whole creation.

But after all, it is with great parts, as with great virtues, they naturally border on some imperfection; and it is often hard to distinguish exactly where the virtue ends, or the fault begins. As prudence may sometimes sink to suspicion, so may a great invention to redundancy or wildness. If we look upon *Homer* in this view, we shall perceive the chief *objections* against him to proceed from so noble a cause as the excess of this faculty.

Among these we may reckon some of his *marvellous fictions*, upon which so much criticism has been spent, as surpassing all the bounds of probability. Perhaps it may be with great and superior souls, as with gigantick bodies, which exerting themselves with unusual strength, exceed what is commonly thought

thought the due proportion of parts, to become miracles in the whole; and like the old Heroes of that make, commit something near extravagance, amidst a series of glorious and inimitable performances. Thus *Homer* has his *speaking horses*, and *Virgil* his *myrtles distilling blood*, where the latter has not so much as contriv'd the easy intervention of a Deity to save the probability.

It is owing to the same vast invention, that his *families* have been thought too exuberant and full of circumstances. The force of this faculty is seen in nothing more, than in its inability to confine itself to that single circumstance upon which the comparison is grounded: It runs out into embellishments of additional images, which however are so manag'd as not to overpower the main one. His families are like pictures, where the principal figure has not only its proportion given agreeable to the original; but is also set off with occasional ornaments and prospects. The same will account for his manner of heaping a number of comparisons together in one breath, when his fancy suggested to him at once so many various and correspondent images. The reader will easily extend this observation to more objections of the same kind.

If there are others which seem rather to charge him with a defect or narrowness of genius, than an excess of it; those seeming defects will be found upon examination to proceed wholly from the nature of the times he liv'd in. Such are his *grosser representations* of the *Gods*, and the vicious and *imperfect manners* of his *Heroes*, which will be treated of in the following

following * *Essay* : But I must here speak a word of the latter, as it is a point generally carry'd into extremes, both by the censurers and defenders of *Homer*, It must be a strange partiality to antiquity, to think with *Madam Dacier*, " that † those times and manners are so much the more excellent, as they are " more contrary to ours." Who can be so prejudiced in their favour as to magnify the felicity of those ages, when a spirit of revenge and cruelty reign'd thro' the world, when no mercy was shown but for the sake of lucre, when the greatest princes were put to the sword, and their wives and daughters made slaves and concubines? On the other side, I would not be so delicate as those modern criticks, who are shock'd at the *servile offices* and mean employments in which we sometimes see the Heroes of *Homer* engag'd. There is a pleasure in taking a view of that simplicity in opposition to the luxury of succeeding ages, in beholding Monarchs without their guards, Princes tending their flocks, and Princesses drawing water from the springs. When we read *Homer*, we ought to reflect that we are reading the most ancient author in the heathen world; and those who consider him in this light, will double their pleasure in the perusal of him. Let them think they are growing acquainted with nations and people that are now no more; that they are stepping almost three thousand years back into the remotest antiquity, and entertaining themselves with a clear and surprizing vision of things no where else to be found,

* See the articles of Theology and Morality in the third part of the *Essay*.

† Preface to her *Homer*.

found, the only authentic picture of that antient world. By this means alone their greatest obstacles will vanish; and what usually creates their dislike, will become a satisfaction.

This consideration may farther serve to answer for the constant use of the same *epithets* to his Gods and Heroes, such as the *far-darting Phæbus*, the *blue-ey'd Pallas*, the *swift-footed Achilles*, &c. which some have censured as impertinent and tediously repeated. Those of the Gods depended upon the powers and offices then believ'd to belong to them, and had contracted a weight and veneration from the rites and solemn devotions in which they were us'd: They were a sort of attributes with which it was a matter of religion to salute them on all occasions, and which it was an irreverence to omit. As for the epithets of great men, *Monf. Boileau* is of opinion, that they were in the nature of *Surnames*, and repeated as such; for the *Greeks* having no names deriv'd from their fathers, were oblig'd to add some other distinction of each person; either naming his parents expressly, or his place of birth, profession, or the like: As *Alexander* son of *Philip*, *Herodotus* of *Halicarnassus*, *Diogenes* the *Cynic*, &c. *Homer* therefore, complying with the custom of his country, us'd such distinctive additions as better agreed with poetry. And indeed we have something parallel to these in modern times, such as the names of *Harold Harefoot*, *Edmund Ironside*, *Edward Long-shanks*, *Edward the black Prince*, &c. If yet this be thought to account better for the propriety than for the repetition, I shall add a farther conjecture. *Hesiod* dividing the world into its different

ferent ages, has plac'd a fourth age between the brazen and the iron one, of *Heroes distinct from other men, a divine race, who fought at Thebes and Troy, are called Demi-Gods, and live by the care of Jupiter in the islands of the blessed**. Now among the divine honours which were paid them, they might have this also in common with the Gods, not to be mention'd without the solemnity of an epithet, and such as might be acceptable to them by its celebrating their families, actions, or qualities.

What other cavils have been rais'd against *Homer*, are such as hardly deserve a reply, but will yet be taken notice of as they occur in the course of the work. Many have been occasion'd by an injudicious endeavour to exalt *Virgil*; which is much the same, as if one should think to raise the superstructure by undermining the foundation: One would imagine by the whole course of their parallels, that those critics never so much as heard of *Homer's* having written first; a consideration which whoever compares these two Poets ought to have always in his eye. Some accuse him for the same things which they overlook or praise in the other; as when they prefer the fable and moral of the *Æneis* to those of the *Iliad*, for the same reasons which might set the *Odyssæis* above the *Æneis*: as that the Hero is a wiser man; and the action of the one more beneficial to his country than that of the other: Or else they blame him for not doing what he never design'd; as because *Achilles* is not as good and perfect a Prince as *Æneas*, when the
very

* *Hæsioid, lib. 1. v. 155, &c.*

very moral of his poem requir'd a contrary character : It is thus that *Rapin* judges in his comparison of *Homer* and *Virgil*. Others select those particular passages of *Homer* which are not so labour'd as some that *Virgil* drew out of them : This is the whole management of *Scaliger* in his *Poetices*. Others quarrel with what they take for low and mean expressions, sometimes through a false delicacy and refinement, oftner from an ignorance of the graces of the original ; and then triumph in the awkwardness of their own translations : This is the conduct of *Perrault* in his *Parallels*. Lastly, there are others, who pretending to a fairer proceeding, distinguish between the personal merit of *Homer*, and that of his work ; but when they come to assign the causes of the great reputation of the *Iliad*, they found it upon the ignorance of his times, and the prejudice of those that followed : And in pursuance of this principle, they make those accidents (such as the contention of the cities, &c.) to be the causes of his fame, which were in reality the consequences of his merit. The same might as well be said of *Virgil*, or any great author, whose general character will infallibly raise many casual additions to their reputation. This is the method of *Monf. de la Motte* ; who yet confesses upon the whole, that in whatever age, *Homer* had liv'd, he must have been the greatest Poet of his nation, and that he may be said in this sense to be the master even of those who surpass'd him.

In all these objections we see nothing that contradicts his title to the honour of the chief *Invention* ; and as long as this (which is indeed the characteristic of
Poetry

Poetry itself) remains unequal'd by his followers, he still continues superior to them. A cooler judgment may commit fewer faults, and be more approv'd in the eyes of *one sort* of Criticks: but that warmth of fancy will carry the loudest and universal applauses, which holds the heart of a reader under the strongest enchantment. *Homer* not only appears the Inventor of poetry, but excels all the inventors of other arts in this, that he has swallow'd up the honour of those who succeeded him. What he has done admitted no encrease, it only left room for contraction or regulation. He shewed all the stretch of fancy at once; and if he has failed in some of his flights, it was but because he attempted every thing. A work of this kind seems like a mighty Tree which rises from the most vigorous feed, is improv'd with industry, flourishes, and produces the finest fruit; nature and art conspire to raise it, pleasure and profit join to make it valuable: and they who find the justest faults, have only said, that a few branches (which run luxuriant thro' a richness of nature) might be lopp'd into form to give it a more regular appearance.

Having now spoken of the beauties and defects of the original, it remains to treat of the translation, with the same view to the chief characteristick. As far as *that* is seen in the main parts of the Poem, such as the fable, manners and sentiments, no translator can prejudice it but by wilful omissions or contractions. As it also breaks out in every particular image, description, and simile; whoever lessens or too much softens those, takes off from this chief character. It is the first grand duty of an interpreter to give his
Author

Author entire and unmaim'd; and for the rest, the distinction and versification only are his proper province; since these must be his own, but the others he is to take as he finds them.

It should then be consider'd what methods may afford some equivalent in our language for the graces of these in the *Greek*. It is certain no literal translation can be just to an excellent original in a superior language: but it is a great mistake to imagine (as many have done) that a rash paraphrase can make amends for this general defect; which is no less in danger to lose the spirit of an ancient, by deviating into the modern manners of expression. If there be sometimes a darkness, there is often a light in antiquity, which nothing better preserves than a version almost literal. I know no liberties one ought to take, but those which are necessary for transfusing the spirit of the original, and supporting the poetical style of the translation: And I will venture to say, there have not been more men misled in former times by a servile dull adherence to the letter, than have been deluded in ours by a chimerical insolent hope of raising and improving their author. It is not to be doubted that the *fire* of the poem is what a translator should principally regard, as it is most likely to expire in his managing. However, it is his safest way to be content with preserving this to his utmost in the whole, without endeavouring to be more than he finds his author is, in any particular place. 'Tis a great secret in writing to know when to be plain, and when poetical and figurative; and it is what *Homer* will teach us, if we will but follow modestly in his footsteps. Where his dic-
tion

tion is bold and lofty, let us raise ours as high as we can;—but where his is plain and humble, we ought not to be deterr'd from imitating him by the fear of incurring the censure of a mere *English* Critick. Nothing that belongs to *Homer* seems to have been more commonly mistaken than the just pitch of his style: Some of his translators having swell'd into fustian in a proud confidence of the *sublime*; others sunk into flatness in a cold and timorous notion of *simplicity*. Methinks I see these different followers of *Homer*, some sweating and straining after him by violent leaps and bounds (the certain signs of false mettle) others slowly and servilely creeping in his train, while the Poet himself is all the time proceeding with an unaffected and equal majesty before them. However of the two extremes one could sooner pardon frenzy than frigidity: No author is to be envy'd for such commendations as he may gain by that character of style, which his friends must agree together to call *simplicity*, and the rest of the world will call *dulness*. There is a graceful and dignify'd simplicity, as well as a bald and sordid one, which differ as much from each other, as the air of a plain man from that of a sloven: 'Tis one thing to be trick'd up, and another not to be dress'd at all. Simplicity is the mean between ostentation and rusticity.

This pure and noble simplicity is no where in such perfection as it is in the *Scripture* and our Author. One may affirm, with all respect to the inspir'd writings, that the *divine Spirit* made use of no other words but what were intelligible and common to men at that time, and in that part of the world; and as

Homer is the author nearest to those, his style must of course bear a greater resemblance to the sacred books than that of any other writer. This consideration (together with what has been observ'd of the parity of some of his thoughts) may methinks induce a translator on the one hand to give into several of those general phrases and manners of expression, which have attain'd a veneration even in our language from being used in the *Old Testament*; as on the other to avoid those which have been appropriated to the Divinity, and in a manner consigned to mystery and religion.

For a further preservation of this air of simplicity, a particular care should be taken to express with all plainness those *moral sentences* and *proverbial speeches* which are so numerous in this Poet. They have something venerable, and as I may say oracular, in that unadorned gravity and shortness with which they are delivered: a grace which would be entirely lost by endeavouring to give them what we call a more ingenious (that is a more modern) turn in the paraphrase.

Perhaps the mixture of some *Gracisms* and old words after the manner of *Milton*, if done without too much affectation, might not have an ill effect in a version of this particular work, which most of any other seems to require a venerable antique cast. But certainly the use of modern terms of war and government, such as *platoon*, *campagne*, *junto*, or the like (into which some of his translators have fallen) cannot be allowable; those only excepted, without which it is impossible to treat the subjects in any living language.

There

There are two peculiarities in *Homer's* diction which are a sort of *marks* or *moles*, by which every common eye distinguishes him at first sight: Those who are not his greatest admirers look upon them as defects, and those who are, seem pleased with them as beauties. I speak of his *compound epithets*, and of his *repetitions*. Many of the former cannot be done literally into *English* without destroying the purity of our language. I believe such should be retain'd as slide easily of themselves into an *English* compound, without violence to the ear or to the received rules of composition; as well as those which have received a sanction from the authority of our best Poets, and are become familiar thro' their use of them; such as the *cloud-compelling Jove*, &c. As for the rest, whenever they can be as fully and significantly express'd in a single word as in a compound-ed one, the course to be taken is obvious.

Some that cannot be so turned as to preserve their full image by one or two words, may have justice done them by circumlocution; as the epithet *εἰσοσίφυλλος* to a mountain, would appear little or ridiculous translated literally *leaf-shaking*, but affords a majestic idea in the *periphrasis*, *The lofty mountain shakes his waving woods*. Others that admit of differing significations, may receive an advantage by a judicious variation according to the occasions on which they are introduced. For example, the epithet of *Apollo*, *ἐκχέτολος*, or *far-shooting*, is capable of two explanations; one literal in respect of the darts and bow, the ensigns of that God; the other allegorical with regard to the rays of the sun: Therefore in such places

where *Apollo* is represented as a God in person, I would use the former interpretation, and where the effects of the sun are described, I would make choice of the latter. Upon the whole it will be necessary to avoid that perpetual repetition of the same epithets which we find in *Homer*, and which, tho' it might be accommodated (as has been already shewn) to the ear of those times, is by no means so to ours: But one may wait for opportunities of placing them, where they derive an additional beauty from the occasions on which they are employed; and in doing this properly, a translator may at once shew his fancy and his judgment.

As for *Homer's repetitions*, we may divide them into three sorts: of whole narrations and speeches, of single sentences, and of one verse or hemistich. I hope it is not impossible to have such a regard to these, as neither to lose so known a mark of the author on the one hand, nor to offend the reader too much on the other. The repetition is not ungraceful in those speeches where the dignity of the speaker renders it a sort of insolence to alter his words; as in the messages from Gods to men, or from higher powers to inferiors in concerns of state, or where the ceremonial of religion seems to require it, in the solemn forms of prayers, oaths, or the like. In other cases, I believe the best rule is to be guided by the nearness, or distance, at which the repetitions are placed in the original: When they follow too close one may vary the expression, but it is a question whether a professed translator be authorized to omit any: If they be tedious, the author is to answer for it.

It

It only remains to speak of the *versification*. *Homer* (as has been said) is perpetually applying the sound to the sense, and varying it on every new subject. This is indeed one of the most exquisite beauties of poetry, and attainable by very few: I only know *Homer* eminent for it in the *Greek*, and *Virgil* in *Latin*. I am sensible it is what may sometimes happen by chance, when a writer is warm, and fully possessed of his image: however it may be reasonably believed they designed this, in whose verse it so manifestly appears in a superior degree to all others. Few readers have the ear to be judges of it, but those who have will see I have endeavoured at this beauty.

Upon the whole, I must confess myself utterly incapable of doing justice to *Homer*. I attempt him in no other hope but that which one may entertain without much vanity, of giving a more tolerable copy of him than any entire translation in verse has yet done. We have only those of *Chapman*, *Hobbes*, and *Ogilby*. *Chapman* has taken the advantage of an immeasurable length of verse, notwithstanding which, there is scarce any paraphrase more loose and rambling than his. He has frequent interpolations of four or six lines, and I remember one in the thirteenth book of the *Odyssey*, V. 312. where he has spun twenty verses out of two. He is often mistaken in so bold a manner, that one might think he deviated on purpose, if he did not in other places of his notes insist so much upon verbal trifles. He appears to have had a strong affectation of extracting new meanings out of his author, insomuch as to promise in his rhyming preface, a poem of the mysteries he had revealed in *Ho-*

mer; and perhaps he endeavoured to strain the obvious sense to this end. His expression is involved in suftian, a fault for which he was remarkable in his original writings, as in the tragedy of *Buffy d' Amboise*, &c. In a word, the nature of the man may account for his whole performance; for he appears from his preface and remarks to have been of an arrogant turn, and an enthusiast in poetry. His own boast of having finished half the *Iliad* in less than fifteen weeks, shews with what negligence his version was performed. But that which is to be allowed him, and which very much contributed to cover his defects, is a daring fiery spirit that animates his translation, which is something like what one would imagine *Hommer* himself would have writ before he arrived to years of discretion.

Hobbes has given us a correct explanation of the sense in general, but for particulars and circumstances he continually lops them, and often omits the most beautiful. As for its being esteemed a close translation, I doubt not many have been led into that error by the shortness of it, which proceeds not from the contractions above-mentioned. He sometimes omits whole similies and sentences, and is now and then guilty of mistakes, into which no writer of his learning could have fallen, but thro' carelessness. His poetry, as well as *Ogilby's*, is too mean for criticism.

It is a great loss to the poetical world that Mr. *Dryden* did not live to translate the *Iliad*. He has left us only the first book, and a small part of the sixth; in which if he has in some places not truly interpreted the sense, or preserved the antiquities, it ought to be excused

excused on account of the haste he was obliged to write in. He seems to have had too much regard to *Chapman*, whose words he sometimes copies, and has unhappily followed him in passages where he wanders from the original. However, had he translated the whole work, I would no more have attempted *Homer* after him than *Virgil*, his version of whom (notwithstanding some human errors) is the most noble and spirited translation I know in any language: But the fate of great Genius's is like that of great Ministers, tho' they are confessedly the first in the commonwealth of letters, they must be envied and calumniated only for being at the head of it.

That which in my opinion ought to be the endeavour of one who translates *Homer*, is above all things to keep alive that spirit and fire which makes his chief character. In particular places where the sense can bear any doubt, to follow the strongest and most poetical, as most agreeing with that character; to copy him in all the variations of his style, and the different modulations of his numbers; to preserve in the more active or descriptive parts, a warmth and elevation; in the more sedate or narrative, a plainness and solemnity; in the speeches, a fulness and perspicuity; in the sentences, a shortness and gravity: Not to neglect even the little figures and turns on the words, nor sometimes the very cast of the periods: Neither to omit or confound any rites or customs of antiquity: Perhaps too he ought to include the whole in a shorter compass, than has hitherto been done by any translator, who has tolerably preserved either the sense or poetry. What I would

farther recommend to him, is to study his author rather from his own text, than from any commentaries, how learned soever, or whatever figure they may make in the estimation of the world; to consider him attentively in comparison with *Virgil* above all the ancients, and with *Milton* above all the moderns. Next these, the Archbishop of *Cambray's Telemachus* may give him the truest idea of the spirit and turn of our author, and *Bossi's* admirable treatise of the Epic poem the justest notion of his design and conduct. But after all, with whatever judgment and study a man may proceed, or with whatever happiness he may perform such a work, he must hope to please but a few; those only who have at once a taste of poetry, and competent learning. For to satisfy such that want either is not in the nature of this undertaking; since a mere modern wit can like nothing that is not modern, and a pedant nothing that is not Greek.

What I have done is submitted to the public, from whose opinions I am prepared to learn; tho' I fear no judges so little as our best poets, who are most sensible of the weight of this task. As for the worst, whatever they shall please to say, they may give me some concern as they are unhappy men, but none as they are malignant writers. I was guided in this translation by judgments very different from theirs, and by persons for whom they can have no kindness; if an old observation be true, that the strongest antipathy in the world is that of fools to men of wit. Mr. *Addison* was the first whose advice determined me to undertake the task, who was pleased to write to me on that occasion in such terms as I cannot repeat

peat without vanity. I was obliged to Sir *Richard Steele* for a very early recommendation of my undertaking to the publick. Dr. *Swift* promoted my interest with that warmth with which he always serves his friend. The humanity and frankness of Sir *Samuel Garth* are what I never knew wanting on any occasion. I must also acknowledge with infinite pleasure, the many friendly offices, as well as sincere criticisms, of Mr. *Congreve*, who had led me the way in translating some parts of *Homer*, as I wish for the sake of the world he had prevented me in the rest. I must add the names of Mr. *Rowe* and Dr. *Parnell*, tho' I shall take a farther opportunity of doing justice to the last, whose good-nature (to give it a great panegyrick) is no less extensive than his learning. The favour of these gentlemen is not entirely undeserved by one who bears them so true an affection. But what can I say of the honour so many of the *Great* have done me, while the *first names* of the age appear as my subscribers, and the most distinguished patrons and ornaments of learning as my chief encouragers? Among these it is a particular pleasure to me to find that my highest obligations are to such who have done most honour to the name of Poet: That his Grace the Duke of *Buckingham* was not displeased I should undertake the Author to whom he has given (in his excellent *Essay*) the finest praise he ever yet received.

*Read Homer once, and you can read no more ;
For all Books else appear so mean, so poor,
Verse will seem Prose ; but still persist to read,
And Homer will be all the books you need.*

That the Earl of *Halifax* was one of the first to favour me, of whom it is hard to say whether the advancement of the polite arts is more owing to his generosity or his example. That such a genius as my Lord *Bolingbroke*, not more distinguished in the great scenes of business, than in all the useful and entertaining parts of learning, has not refused to be the critick of these sheets, and the patron of the'r writer. And that so excellent an imitator of *Homer* as the noble author of the Tragedy of *Heroic Love*, has continued his partiality to me, from my writing Pastorals, to my attempting the *Iliad*. I cannot deny myself the pride of confessing, that I have had the advantage not only of their advice for the conduct in general, but their correction of several particulars of this translation.

I could say a great deal of the pleasure of being distinguished by the Earl of *Carnarvon*, but it is almost absurd to particularize any one generous action in a person whose whole life is a continued series of them. The Right Honourable Mr. *Stanhope*, the present Secretary of State, will pardon my desire of having it known that he was pleased to promote this affair. The particular zeal of Mr. *Harcourt* (the son of the late Lord Chancellor) gave me a proof how much I am honoured in a share of his friendship. I must attribute to the same motive that of several others of my friends, to whom all acknowledgments are rendered unnecessary by the privileges of a familiar correspondence: And I am satisfied I can no way better oblige men of their turn, than by my silence.

In

In short, I have found more patrons than ever *Homer* wanted. He would have thought himself happy to have met the same favour at *Athens*, that has been shewn me by its learned Rival, the University of *Oxford*. If my author had the *Wits* of after-ages for his defenders, his translator has had the *Beauties* of the present for his advocates; a pleasure too great to be changed for any fame in reversion. And I can hardly envy him those pompous honours he receiv'd after death, when I reflect on the enjoyments of so many agreeable obligations, and easy friendships, which make the satisfaction of life. This distinction is the more to be acknowledg'd, as it is shewn to one whose pen has never gratified the prejudices of particular *parties*, or the vanities of particular *men*. Whatever the success may prove, I shall never repent of an undertaking in which I have experienc'd the candour and friendship of so many persons of merit; and in which I hope to pass some of those years of youth that are generally lost in a circle of follies, after a manner neither wholly unuseful to others, or disagreeable to myself.



A N
E S S A Y
O N T H E
L I F E , W R I T I N G S a n d L E A R N I N G
O F
H O M E R .

T H E R E is something in the mind of man, which goes beyond bare curiosity, and even carries us on to a shadow of friendship with those great genius's whom we have known to excel in former ages. Nor will it appear less to any one, who considers how much it partakes of the nature of friendship; how it compounds itself of an admiration raised by what we meet with concerning them; a tendency to be farther acquainted with them, by gathering every circumstance of their lives; a kind of complacency in their company, when we retire to enjoy what they have left; an union with them in those sentiments they approve; and an endeavour to defend them, when we think they are injuriously attacked, or even sometimes with too partial an affection.

There

2. AN ESSAY ON HOMER.

There is also in mankind a spirit of envy or opposition, which makes them uneasy to see others of the same species seated far above them in a sort of perfection. And this, at least so far as regards the fame of writers, has not always been known to die with a man, but to pursue his remains with idle traditions, and weak conjectures; so that his name, which is not to be forgotten, shall be preserved only to be stained and blotted. The controversy which was carried on between the author and his enemies; while he was living, shall still be kept on foot; not entirely upon his own account, but on theirs who live after him; some being fond to praise extravagantly, and others as rashly eager to contradict his admirers. This proceeding, on both sides, gives us an image of the first descriptions of war, such as the *Iliad* affords; where a Hero disputes the field with an army 'till it is his time to die, and then the battle, which we expected to fall of course, is renewed about the body; his friends contending that they may embalm and honour it, his enemies that they may cast it to the dogs and vultures.

There are yet others of a low kind of taste, who, without any malignity to the character of a great author, lessen the dignity of their subject by insisting too meanly upon little particularities. They imagine it the part of an historian to omit nothing they meet with, concerning him; and gather every thing without any distinction, to the prejudice and neglect of the more noble parts of his character: like those trifling painters, or sculptors, who bestow infinite pains and patience upon the most insignificant parts of



of a figure, 'till they sink the grandeur of the whole, by finishing every thing with the neatest want of judgment.

Besides these, there are a fourth set of men, who pretend to divest themselves of partiality on both sides, and to get above that imperfect idea of their subject, which little writers fall into; who propose to themselves a calm search after truth, and a rational adherence to probability in their historical collections: Who neither wish to be led into the fables of poetry, nor are willing to support the falsehoods of a malignant criticism; but, endeavouring to steer in a middle way, have obtained a character of failing least in the choice of materials for history, tho' drawn from the darkest ages.

Being therefore to write something concerning a Life, which there is little prospect of our knowing, after it has been the fruitless inquiry of so many ages, and which has however been thus differently treated by historians, I shall endeavour to speak of it not as a certainty, but as the tradition, opinion, or collection of authors, who have been supposed to write of *Homer* in these four preceding methods; to which we also shall add some farther conjectures of our own. After his life has been thus rather talked of than written, I shall consider him historically as an author, with regard to those works which he has left behind him: In doing which we may trace the degrees of esteem they have obtained in different periods of time, and regulate our present opinion of them, by a view of that age in which they were writ.

We

I. I. If we take a view of *Homer* in *Stories of Homer*, those fabulous traditions which the admiration of the ancient heathens has occasioned, we find them running extravagant to superstition, and multiply'd and independent on one another, in the different accounts which are given with respect to *Ægypt* and *Greece*, the two native countries of fable.

We have one in * *Eustathius* most strangely framed, which *Alexander Paphius* has reported concerning *Homer's* birth and infancy. That "he was
 " born in *Ægypt* of *Damasagoras* and *Æthra*, and
 " brought up by a daughter of *Orus*, the priest of
 " *Isis*, who was herself a prophetess, and from whose
 " breasts drops of honey would frequently distil into
 " the mouth of the infant. In the night-time the
 " first sounds he uttered were the notes of nine several birds; in the morning he was found playing
 " with nine doves in the bed: The *Sibyl*, who attended him, used to be seized with a poetical fury,
 " and uttered verses, in which she commanded *Damasagoras* to build a temple to the Muses: This
 " he performed in obedience to her inspiration, and
 " related all these things to the child when he was
 " grown up; who, in memory of the doves which
 " played with him during his infancy, has in his
 " works preferred this bird to the honour of bringing
 " *Ambrosia* to *Jupiter*."

One

* *Eustathius in Od. 12.*

One would think a story of this nature, so fit for age to talk of, and infancy to hear, were incapable of being handed down to us. But we find the tradition again taken up to be heightened in one part, and carried forward in another. * *Heliodorus*, who had heard of this claim which *Ægypt* put in for *Homer*, endeavours to strengthen it by naming *Thebes* for the particular place of his birth. He allows too, that a priest was his reputed father, but that his real father, according to the opinion of *Ægypt*, was *Mercury*. He says, "That when the Priest was celebrating the Rites of his country, and therefore slept with his wife in the Temple, the God had knowledge of her, and begot *Homer*: That he was born with tufts of hair on his † thigh, as a sign of unlawful generation, from whence he was called *Homer* by the nations through which he wandered: That he himself was the occasion why this story of his divine extraction is unknown; because he neither told his name, race, nor country, being ashamed of his exile, to which his reputed father drove him from among the consecrated youths, on account of that mark, which their Priests esteem'd a testimony of an incestuous birth."

These are the extravagant stories by which men, who have not been able to express how much they admire him, transcend the bounds of probability to say something extraordinary. The mind, that becomes dazzled with the sight of his performances, loses the common idea of a man in the fancied splendor

* *Heliod. Æthiop. l. 3.*

† *Ὅμηρος, Femur.*

dor of perfection: It sees nothing less than a God worthy to be his Father, nothing less than a Prophetess deserving to be his Nurse; and, growing unwilling that he should be spoken of in a language beneath its imaginations, delivers fables in the place of history.

But whatever has thus been offered to support the claim of *Ægypt*, they who plead for *Greece* are not to be accused for coming short of it. Their fancy rose with a refinement above that of their masters, and frequently the veil of fiction is wrought fine enough to be seen through, so that it hardly hides the meaning it is made to cover, from the first glance of the imagination. For a proof of this, we may mention that poetical genealogy which is delivered for *Homer's*, in the * *Greek* treatise of the contention between him and *Hesiod*, and but little varied by the relation of it in *Suidas*.

" The Poet *Linus* (say they) was born of *Apollo*,
 " and *Thocose* the daughter of *Neptune*. *Pierus* of
 " *Linus* : *Oeagrus* of King *Pierus* and the Nymph
 " *Methone* : *Orpheus* of *Oeagrus* and the Muse *Cal-*
 " *liope*. From *Orpheus* came *Othrys*; from him *Har-*
 " *monides* ; from him *Philoterpus* ; from him *Euphe-*
 " *mus* ; from him *Epiphrades* ; who begot *Menalops*,
 " the father of *Dius* ; *Dius* had *Hesiod* the Poet and
 " *Perfes* by *Pucamede*, the daughter of *Apollo* : Then
 " *Perfes* had *Mæon*, on whose daughter *Critheis*, the
 " river *Meles* begot *Homer*."

Here

* 'Αγών 'Ομήρου καὶ 'Ησιόδου.

Here we behold a wonderful genealogy, contrived industriously to raise our idea to the highest, where Gods, Goddeffes, Muses, Kings, and Poets link in a descent; nay, where Poets are made to depend, as it were, in clusters upon the same stalk beneath one another. If we consider oo that *Harmonides* is derived from harmony, *Philoterpus* from love of delight, *Euphemus* from beautiful diction, *Epiphrades* from intelligence, and *Pucamede* from prudence; it may not be improbable, but the inventors meant, by a fiction of this nature, to turn such qualifications into persons as were agreeable to his character, for whom the line was drawn: So that every thing, divine or great, will thus come together by the extravagant indulgence of fancy, while it turns itself sometimes to admiration, and sometimes to allegory.

After this fabulous tree of his pedigree, we may regularly view him in one passage concerning his birth, which, tho' it differs in a circumstance from what has been here delivered, yet carries on the same air, and regards the same traditions. There is a short life of *Homer* attributed to *Plutarch*, wherein a third part of *Aristotle* on poetry, which is now lost, is quoted for an account of his uncommon birth, in this manner. " At the time when *Neleus*, the son of *Codrus*,
" led the colony which was sent into *Ionia*, there was
" in the island of *Io* a young girl, compressed by a
" *Genius*, who delighted to associate with the *Muses*,
" and share in their consorts. She, finding herself
" with child, and being touched with the shame of
" what had happened to her, removed from thence
" to a place called *Ægina*. There she was taken in
" an

“ an excursion made by robbers, and being brought
 “ to *Smyrna*, which was then under the *Lydians*, they
 “ gave her to *Mæon* the King, who married her up-
 “ on account of her beauty. But while she walked
 “ on the bank of the river *Meles*, she brought forth
 “ *Homer* and expired. The infant was taken by
 “ *Mæon*, and bred up as his son, ’till the death of
 “ that Prince.” And from this point of the story
 the Poet is let down into his traditional poverty. Here
 we see, tho’ he be taken out of the lineage of *Meles*,
 where we met him before, he has still as wonderful a
 rise invented for him; he is still to spring from a *De-
 mi-god*, one who was of a poetical disposition, from
 whom he might inherit a soul turned to poetry, and
 receive an assistance of heavenly inspiration.

In his life the most general tradition concerning him
 is his *blindness*, yet there are some who will not allow
 even this to have happened after the manner in which
 it falls upon other men: Chance and sickness are ex-
 cluded; nothing less than Gods and Heroes must be
 visibly concerned about him. Thus we find among
 the different accounts which **Hermias* has collected
 concerning his blindness, that when *Homer* resolved
 to write of *Achilles*, he had an exceeding desire to fill
 his mind with a just idea of so glorious a Hero:
 Wherefore, having paid all due honours at his tomb,
 he intreats that he may obtain a sight of him. The
 hero grants his Poet’s petition, and rises in a glorious
 suit of armour, which cast so unsufferable a splendor,
 that

* *Hermias in Phæd. Plat. Leo Allat. de Patr. Hom. c. 10.*

that *Homer* lost his eyes, while he gazed for the enlargement of his notions.

If this be any thing more than a mere fable, one would be apt to imagine it insinuated his contracting a blindness by too intense an application while he wrote his *Iliad*. But it is a very pompous way of letting us into the knowledge of so short a truth: It looks as if men imagined the lives of poets should be poetically written; that to speak plainly of them, were to speak contemptibly; or that we debase them, when they are placed in less glorious company than those exalted spirits which they themselves have been fond to celebrate. We may however in some measure be reconciled to this last idle fable, for having occasioned so beautiful an Episode in the *Ambra* of *Politian*. That which does not inform us in a history, may please us in its proper sphere of poetry.

Such stories as these have been the effects of a superstitious fondness, and of the astonishment of men at what they consider in a view of perfection.

II.

Stories of Homer proceeding from envy.

But neither have all the same taste, nor do they equally submit to the superiority of others, nor bear that human nature, which they know to be imperfect, should be raised to an extreme without opposition. From some principles of this kind have arisen a second sort of stories, which glance at *Homer* with malignant suppositions, and endeavour to throw a diminishing air over his life, as a kind of answer to those who sought to aggrandize him injudiciously.

Under

Under this head we may reckon those ungrounded conjectures with which his adversaries asperse the very design and prosecution of his travels, when they insinuate, that they were one continued search after authors who had written before him, and particularly upon the same subject, in order to destroy them, or to rob them of their inventions.

Thus we read in * *Diodorus Siculus*, " That there
 " was one *Daphne*, the daughter of *Tiresias*, who
 " from her inspirations obtained the title of a *Sybil*.
 " She had a very extraordinary genius, and being
 " made priestess at *Delphos*, wrote oracles with wonderful elegance, which *Homer* sought for, and
 " adorned his poems with several of her verses." But she is placed so far in the fabulous age of the world, that nothing can be averred of her: And as for the verses now ascribed to the *Sybils*, they are more modern than to be able to confirm the story; which, as it is universally assented to, discovers that whatever there is in them in common with *Homer*, the compilers have rather taken from him; perhaps to strengthen the authority of their work by the protection of this tradition.

The next insinuation we hear is from *Suidas*, that *Palamedes*, who fought at *Troy*, was famous for poetry, and wrote concerning that war in the *Dorick* letter which he invented, probably much against *Agamemnon* and *Ulysses*, his mortal enemies. Upon this account some have fancied his works were suppressed by *Agamemnon's* posterity, or that their entire destruction

* Diod. Sic. l. 4.

tion was contrived and effected by *Homer* when he undertook the same subject. But surely the works of so considerable a man, when they had been able to bear up so long a time as that which passed between the siege of *Troy*, and the flourishing of *Homer*, must have been too much dispersed, for one of so mean a condition as he is represented, to have destroyed in every place, tho' he had been never so much assisted by the vigilant temper of Envy. And we may say too, that what might have been capable of raising this principle in him, must be capable of being in some measure esteemed, and of having at least one line of it preserved to us.

After him, in the order of time, we meet with a whole set of names, to whom the maligners of *Homer* would have him obliged, without being able to prove their assertion. *Suidas* mentions *Corinnus Iliensis*, the secretary of *Palamedes*, who writ a poem upon the same subject, but no one is produced as having seen it. * *Tzetzes* mentions (and from *Johannes Melala* only) *Sisyphus* the *Coan*, secretary of *Teucer*, but it is not so much as known if he writ verse or prose. Besides these, are *Dictys* the *Cretan*, secretary to *Idomeneus*, and *Dares* the *Phrygian* an attendant of *Hector*, who have spurious treatises passing under their names. From each of these is *Homer* said to have borrowed his whole argument; so inconsistent are these stories with one another.

The next names we find, are *Demodocus*, whom *Homer* might have met at *Corcyra*, and *Phemius*,
whom

* *Tzetzes Chyl. 5. Hist. 29.*

whom he might have met at *Ithaca*: the one (as † *Plutarch* says) having according to tradition written the war of *Troy*, the other the return of the *Grecian* captains. But these are only two names of friends, which he is pleased to honour with eternity in his poem, or two different pictures of himself, as author of the *Iliad* and *Odysses*, or entirely the children of his imagination, without any particular allusion. So that his usage here, puts me in mind of his own *Vulcan* in the * *Iliad*: The God had cast two statues, which he endued with the power of motion; and it is said presently after, that he is scarce able to go unless they support him.

It is reported by some, says ‖ *Ptolemæus Ephesio*,
 “ That there was before *Homer*, a woman of *Mem-*
 “ *phis*, called *Phantasia*, who writ of the wars of
 “ *Troy*, and the wanderings of *Ulysses*. Now *Homer*
 “ arriving at *Memphis* where she had laid up her
 “ work, and getting acquainted with *Phanitas*, whose
 “ business it was to copy the sacred writings, he ob-
 “ tained a sight of these, and followed entirely the
 “ scheme she had drawn.” But this is a wild story, which speaks of an *Ægyptian* woman with a *Greek* name, and who never was heard of but upon this account. It appears indeed from his knowledge of the *Ægyptian* learning, that he was initiated into their mysteries, and for aught we know by one *Phanitas*. But if we consider what the name of the woman signifies, it seems only as if, from being used in a figurative expression, it had been mistaken for a proper name.

† *Plutarch on Musick.*

* *Iliad.* 18.

‖ *Ptol. Ep. Excerpt. apud Photium*, l. 5.

name. And then the meaning will be, that having gathered as much information concerning the *Græcian* and *Trojan* story, as he could be furnished with from the accounts of *Ægypt*, which were generally mixed with fancy and fable, he wrought out his plans of the *Iliad* and the *Odysses*.

We pass all these stories, together with the *little Iliad* of *Siagrus*, mentioned by † *Ælian*. But one cannot leave this subject without reflecting on the depreciating humour, and odd industry of man, which shews itself in raising such a number of insinuations that clash with each other, and in spiriting up such a croud of unwarranted names to support them. Nor can we but admire at the contradictory nature of this proceeding; that names of works which either never were in being, or never worthy to live, should be produced only to persuade us that the most lasting and beautiful poem of the ancients was taken out of them. A beggar might be content to patch up a garment with such shreds as the world throws away, but it is never to be imagined an Emperor would make his robes of them.

After *Homer* had spent a considerable time in travel, we find him towards his age introduced to such an action as tends to his disparagement. It is not enough to accuse him for spoiling the dead, they raise a living author, by whom he must be baffled in that qualification on which his fame is founded.

VOL. I.

C

There

† *Ælian*. l. 14. c. 21.

There is in * *Hesiod* an account of an ancient poetical contention at the funeral of *Amphidamas*, in which, he says, he obtained the prize, but does not mention from whom he carried it. There is also among the † *Hymns* ascribed to *Homer*, a prayer to *Venus* for success in a poetical dispute, but it neither mentions where, nor against whom. But though they have neglected to name their antagonists, others have since taken care to fill up the stories by putting them together. The making two such considerable names in poetry engage, carries an amusing pomp in it, like making two heroes of the first rank enter the lists of combat. And if *Homer* and *Hesiod* had their parties among the *Grammarians*, here was an excellent opportunity for *Hesiod*'s favourers to make a sacrifice of *Homer*. Hence a bare conjecture might spread into a *tradition*, then the tradition give occasion to an *epigram*, which is yet extant, and again the *epigram* (for want of knowing the time it was writ in) be alleged as a *proof* of that conjecture from whence it sprung. After this, a ‡ whole treatise was written upon it, which appears not very ancient, because it mentions *Adrian*: The story agrees in the main with the short account we find in § *Plutarch*, “ That Ga-
 “ *nictor*, the son of *Amphidamas*, King of *Eubœa*,
 “ being used to celebrate his father's funeral games,
 “ invited from all parts men famous for strength and
 “ wisdom. Among these *Homer* and *Hesiod* arrived
 “ at

* *Hesiod. Op. & dierum. l. 2. v. 272, &c.*

† *Hom. Hymn. 2. ad Venerem.*

‡ *Ἄγων Ὀμῆρος καὶ Ἡσίοδος.*

§ *Plut. Banquet of the seven wise men.*

“ at *Chalcis*. The King *Panidas* presided over the
 “ contest, which being finished, he decreed the *Tri-*
 “ *pos* to *Hesiod*, with this sentence, That the Poet of
 “ peace and husbandry better deserved to be crowned
 “ ‘than the Poet of war and contention. Whereup-
 “ on *Hesiod* dedicated the prize to the muses, with
 “ this inscription,

“ Ἡσίοδος Μῦσαις Ἐλικωνίσι τὸν δ’ ἀνέθηκεν

“ Ὑμνῷ νικήσας ἐν Χαλκίδι θεῖον” Ὀμηρον.

Which are two lines taken from that place in *Hesiod* where he mentions no antagonist, and altered, that the two names might be brought in, as is evident by comparing them with these,

Ὑμνῷ νικήσαντα φέρειν τρίποδ’ ἀτρώντα,

Τὸν μὲν Ἐγὼ Μῦσ’ Ἐλικωνιάδισσ’ ἀνέθηκα.

To answer this story, we may take notice that *Hesiod* is generally placed after *Homer*. *Grævius*, his own commentator, sets him a hundred years lower; and whether he were so or no, yet † *Plutarch* has slightly passed the whole account as a fable. Nay, we may draw an argument against it from *Hesiod* himself: He had a love of fame which caused him to engage at the funeral games, and which went so far as to make him record his conquest in his own works; had he defeated *Homer*, the same principle would have made him mention a name that could have secured his own

C 2

to

† *Plut. Symp. l. 5. §. 2.*

to immortality. A poet who records his glory, would not omit the noblest circumstance, and *Homer*, like a captive prince, had certainly graced the triumph of his adversary.

Towards the latter end of his life, there is another story invented, which makes him conclude it in a manner altogether beneath the greatness of a genius. We find in the life said to be written by *Plutarch*, a tradition, "That he was warned by an oracle to be-
" ware of the *young men's riddle*. This remained
" long obscure to him, 'till he arrived at the island
" *Io*. There as he sat to behold the fishermen, they
" proposed to him a riddle in verse, which he being
" unable to answer, died for grief." This story refutes itself, by carrying superstition at one end, and folly at the other. It seems conceived with an air of derision, to lay a great man in the dust after a foolish manner. The same sort of hand might have framed that tale of *Aristotle's* drowning himself because he could not account for the *Euripus*: The design is the same, the turn the same; and all the difference, that the great men are each to suffer in his character, the one by a *poetical riddle*, the other by a *philosophical problem*. But these are actions which can only proceed from the meanness of pride, or extravagance of madness: A soul enlarged with knowledge (so vastly as that of *Homer*) better knows the proper stress which is to be laid upon every incident, and the proportion of concern, or carelessness, with which it ought to be affected. But it is the fate of narrow capacities to measure mankind by a false standard, and imagine the great like themselves, capable of being disconcerted

certed by little occasions; to frame their malignant fables according to this imagination, and to stand detected by it as by an evident mark of ignorance.

III. The third manner in which the life of *Homer* has been written, is but an amassing of all the traditions and hints which the writers could meet with, great or little, in order to tell a story of him to the world. Perhaps the want of choice materials might put them upon the necessity; or perhaps an injudicious desire of saying all they could, occasioned the fault. However it be, a life composed of trivial circumstances, which (tho' it give a true account of several passages) shews a man but little in that light in which he was most famous, and has hardly any thing correspondent to the idea we entertain of him: Such a life, I say, will never answer rightly the demand the world has upon an Historian. Yet the most formal account we have of *Homer* is of this nature, I mean that which is said to be collected by *Herodotus*. It is, in short, an unsupported minute treatise, composed of events which lie within the compass of probability, and belong to the lowest sphere of life. It seems to be entirely conducted by the spirit of a *Grammarian*; ever abounding with *extempore verses*, as if it were to prove a thing so unquestionable as our author's title to rapture; and at the same time the occasions are so poorly invented, that they misbecome the warmth of a poetical imagination. There is nothing in it above the life which a *Grammarian* might lead himself;

III.

Stories of Homer proceeding from trifling curiosity.

may, it is but such a one as they commonly do lead, the highest stage of which is to be *master of a school*. But because this is a treatise to which writers have had recourse for want of a better, I shall give the following abstract of it.

Homer was born at *Smyrna*, about one hundred sixty eight years after the siege of *Troy*, and six hundred twenty two years before the expedition of *Xerxes*. His mother's name was *Crytheis*, who proving unlawfully with child, was sent away from *Cumæ* by her uncle, with *Ismenias*, one of those who led the colony to *Smyrna*, then building. A while after, as she was celebrating a festival with other women on the banks of the river *Meles*, she was delivered of *Homer*, whom she therefore named *Melesigenes*. Upon this she left *Ismenias*, and supported herself by her labour, 'till *Pheimius* (who taught a school in *Smyrna*) fell in love with her, and married her. But both dying in process of time, the school fell to *Homer*, who managed it with such wisdom, that he was universally admired both by natives and strangers. Amongst these latter was *Mentes*, a master of a ship from *Leucadia*, by whose persuasions and promises he gave up his school, and went to travel: With him he visited *Spain* and *Italy*, but was left behind at *Ithaca* upon account of a defluction in his eyes. During his stay he was entertained by one *Mentor*, a man of fortune, justice, and hospitality, and learned the principal incidents of *Ulysses's* life. But at the return of *Mentes*, he went from thence to *Colophon*, where, his defluction renewing, he fell entirely blind. Upon this he could think of no better expedient than to go back

back to *Smyrna*, where perhaps he might be supported by those who knew him, and have the leisure to addict himself to poetry. But there he found his poverty encrease, and his hopes of encouragement fail; so that he removed to *Cumæ*, and by the way was entertained for some time at the house of one *Tychius*, a leather-dresser. At *Cumæ* his poems were wonderfully admired, but when he proposed to eternize their town if they would allow him a salary, he was answered, that there would be no end of maintaining all the "*Ὀμῆοι*, or *blind men*, and hence he got the Name of *Homer*. From *Cumæ* he went to *Phocæa*, where one *Thestorides* (a school-master also) offered to maintain him if he would suffer him to transcribe his verses: This *Homer* complying with thro' mere necessity, the other had no sooner gotten them, but he removed to *Chios*; there the poems gained him wealth and honour, while the author himself hardly earned his bread by repeating them. At last, some who came from *Chios* having told the people that the same verses were published there by a school-master, *Homer* resolved to find him out. Having therefore landed near that place, he was received by one *Glaucus* a shepherd, (at whose door he had like to have been worried by dogs) and carried by him to his master at *Bollissus*, who admiring his knowledge, entrusted him with the education of his children. Here his praise began to spread, and *Thestorides*, who heard of his neighbourhood, fled before him. He removed however some time afterwards to *Chios*, where he set up a school of poetry, gained a competent fortune, married a wife, and had two

daughters, the one of which died young, the other was married to his patron at *Bollissus*. Here he inserted in his poems the names of those to whom he had been most obliged, as *Mentes*, *Phemius*, *Mentor*, and *Tychius*; and resolving for *Athens*, he made honourable mention of that city, to prepare the *Athenians* for a kind reception. But as he went, the ship put in at *Samos*, where he continued the whole winter, singing at the houses of great men, with a train of boys after him. In spring he went on board again in order to prosecute his journey to *Athens*, but landing by the way at *Ios*, he fell sick, died, and was buried on the sea-shore.

This is the life of *Homer* ascribed to *Herodotus*, tho' it is wonderful it should be so, since it evidently contradicts his own *history*, by placing *Homer* six hundred twenty-two years before the expedition of *Xerxes*; whereas *Herodotus* himself, who was alive at the time of that expedition, says *Homer* was only * four hundred years before him. However, if we can imagine that there may be any thing of truth in the main parts of this treatise, we may gather these general observations from it. That he shewed a great thirst after knowledge, by undertaking such long and numerous travels; That he manifested an unexampled vigour of mind, by being able to write with more fire under the disadvantages of blindness, and the utmost poverty, than any Poet after him in better circumstances; and that he had an unlimited sense of fame, (the attendant of noble spirits) which prompted him

* Herod, l. 2.

him to engage in new travels, both under these disadvantages, and the additional burthen of old age.

But it will not perhaps be either improper or difficult to make some conjectures which seem to lay open the foundation from whence the traditions which frame the low lives of *Homer* have arisen. We may consider, That there are no Historians of his time, (or none handed down to us) who have mentioned him; and that he has never spoken plainly of himself, in those works which have been ascribed to him without controversy. However, an eager desire to know something concerning him has occasioned mankind to labour the point under these disadvantages, and turn on all hands to see if there were any thing left which might have the least appearance of information. Upon the search, they find no remains but his *name* and *works*, and resolve to torture these upon the rack of invention, in order to give some account of the person they belong to.

The first thing therefore they settle is, That what passed for his *name* must be his *name* no longer, but an *additional title* used instead of it. The reason why it was given, must be some accident of his life. They then proceed to consider every thing the word may imply by its derivation. One finds that 'Ο μνησ signifies a *thigh*; whence arises the tradition in * *Heliodorus*, that he was banished *Egypt* for the mark on that part, which shewed a spurious birth; and this they imagine ground enough to give him the life of a wanderer. A second finds that 'Ο μνησ signifies

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* Hel. l. 3:

an *hostage*, and then he must be delivered as such in a war (according to * *Proclus*) between *Smyrna* and *Chios*. A third can derive the name 'Ο μὴ ὀρᾶν, *non videns*, from whence he must be a *blind man* (as in the piece ascribed to † *Herodotus*). A fourth brings it from 'Ομῶς ἐπείν, *speaking in council*; and then (as it is in *Suidas*) he must, by a divine inspiration, declare to the *Smyrneans*, that they should war against *Cylophon*. A fifth finds the word may be brought to signify *following others*, or *joining himself* to them, and then he must be called *Homer* for saying, (as it is quoted from ‡ *Aristotle* in the life ascribed to *Plutarch*) that he would 'Ομνεῖν, or *follow the Lydians* from *Smyrna*. Thus has the name been turned and winded, enough at least to give a suspicion, that he who got a *new etymology*, got either a *new life* of him, or something which he added to the old one.

However the *name* itself not affording enough to furnish out a whole life, his *works* must be brought in for assistance, and it is taken for granted, That where he has not spoken of himself, he lies veiled beneath the persons or actions of those whom he describes. Because he calls a Poet by the name of *Phemius* in his *Odyssey*, they concluded this § *Phemius* was his master. Because he speaks of *Demodocus* as another Poet who was blind, and frequented palaces; he must be sent about || blind, to sing at the doors of rich men. If *Ulysses* be set upon by dogs at his shepherd's

* *Proc. vit. Hom.*† *Herod. vit. Hom.*‡ *Plut. vit. Hom.*§ *Herod. vit. Hom.*|| *Herod. vit. Hom.*

herd's cottage, because this is a low adventure, it is thought to be his own at *Bollissus*. * And if he calls the leather-dresser, who made *Ajax's* shield, by the name of *Tychius*, he must have been supported by such an one in his wants : Nay, some have been so violently carried into this way of conjecturing, that the bare † *simile* of a woman who works hard for her livelihood, is said to have been borrowed from his mother's condition, and brought as a proof of it. Thus he is still imagined to intend himself; and the fictions of poetry, converted into real facts, are delivered for his life, who has assigned them to others. All those stories in his works which suit with a mean condition are supposed to have happened to him; tho' the same way of inference might as well prove him to have acted in a higher sphere, from the many passages that shew his skill in government, and his knowledge of the great parts of life.

There are some other scattered stories of *Homer* which fall not under these heads, but are however of as trifling a nature; as much unfit for the materials of history, still more ungrounded, if possible, and arising merely from chance, or the humours of men : Such is the report we meet with from ‡ *Heraclides*, That "*Homer* was fined at *Athens* for a madman;" which seems invented by the disciples of *Socrates*, to cast an odium upon the *Athenians* for their consenting to the death of their master; and carries in it something like a declaiming revenge of the schools,

as

* *Ibid.*† *Vid. M. Dacier's life of Homer.*‡ *Diogenes Laertius ex Heracl. in vita Socratis.*

as if the world should imagine the one could be esteemed *mad*, where the other was put to death for being *wicked*. Such another report is that in * *Ælian*, "That *Homer* portioned his daughter with some of " his works for want of money;" which looks but like a jest upon a poor wit, which at first might have had an Epigrammatist for its father, and been afterwards gravely understood by some painful collector. In short, mankind have laboured heartily about him to no purpose; they have caught up every thing greedily, with that busy minute curiosity and unsatisfactory inquisitiveness which *Seneca* calls the *Disease of the Greeks*; they have puzzled the cause by their attempts to find it out; and, like travellers destitute of a road, yet resolved to make one over unpassable deserts, they superinduce error instead of removing ignorance.

IV. IV. Whenever any authors have attempted to write the life of *Homer*, *Probable conjectures concerning Homer* clear from superstition, envy, and trifling, they have grown ashamed of all these traditions. This, however, has not occasioned them to desist from the undertaking; but still the difficulty, which could not make them desist, has necessitated them, either to deliver the old story with excuses; or else, instead of a life, to compose a treatise partly of *criticism*, and partly of *character*; rather descriptive, than supported by action, and the air of history.

They

* *Ælian*. I. 9. cap. 15.

They begin with acquainting us, that the *Time* in which he lived has *His Time*. never been fixed beyond dispute, and that the opinions of authors are various concerning it: But the controversy, in its several conjectures, includes a space of years between the earliest and latest, from twenty-four to about five hundred, after the siege of *Troy*. Whenever the time was, it seems not to have been near that siege from his own * *Invocation* of the *Muses* to recount the catalogue of the ships: "For we, says he, have only heard a rumour, and "know nothing particularly." It is remarked by † *Velleius Paterculus*, That it must have been considerably later from his own confession, that "mankind "was but half as strong in his age, as in that he "writ of;" which, as it is founded upon a notion of a gradual degeneracy in our nature, discovers the interval to have been long between *Homer* and his subject. But not to trouble ourselves with entering into all the dry dispute, we may take notice, that the world is inclined to stand by the ‡ *Arundelian marble*, as the most certain computation of those early times; and this, by placing him at the time when *Diognetus* ruled

* Ημεῖς δὲ κλέος οἶον ἀκούμεν ὅδ' ἔτι ἴδμεν. *Iliad.* 2. v. 487.

† Hic longè à temporibus belli quod composuit, Troici, quàm quidam rentur, absuit. Nam fermè ante annos 950 floruit, intra mille natus est: quo nomine non est mirandum quòd sæpe illud usurpat, οἷοι νῦν βρότοι εἴσι. Hòc enim ut hominum ita sæculorum notatur differentia. *Vell. Paterc.* lib. 1.

‡ Vide Dacier, Du Pin, &c. concerning the *Arundelian marble*.

ruled in *Athens*, makes him flourish a little before the *Olympiads* were established; about three hundred years after the taking of *Troy*, and near a thousand before the *Christian Æra*. For a farther confirmation of this, we have some great names of antiquity who give him a Cotemporary agreeing with the computation: * *Cicero* says, There was a tradition that *Homer* lived about the time of *Lycurgus*. † *Strabo* tells us, It was reported that *Lycurgus* went to *Chios* for an interview with him. And even ‡ *Plutarch*, when he says, *Lycurgus* received *Homer's* works from the grand-son of that *Creophilus* with whom he had lived, does not put him so far backward, but that possibly they might have been alive at the same time.

The next dispute regards his country, concerning which § *Adrian* enquired of the Gods, as a question not to be settled by men; and *Appion* (according to || *Pliny*) raised a spirit for his information. That which has increased the difficulty, is the number of contesting places, of which *Suidas* has reckoned up nineteen in one breath. But his ancient commentator, ** (*Dydymus*,) found the subject so fertile, as to employ a great part of his four thousand volumes upon it. There is a prophecy of the *Sybils* that he should be born at *Salamis* in *Cyprus*; and then to play an argument of the same nature against it, there is the oracle given to *Adrian* afterwards, that says he was born in *Ithaca*.
There

* *Cicero Qu. Tuscul. l. 5.*

† *Strabo, l. 10.*

‡ *Plut. vitâ Lycurgi.*
Adrian's Oracle.

§ *Αγών Όμήρου καὶ Ηοιόδου, of*
|| *Plin. l. 30. cap. 2.*

** *Seneca Ep. 88. concerning Didymus.*

There are *customs* of *Æolia* and *Ægypt* cited from his works, to make out by turns, and with the same probability, that he belonged to each of them. There was a *school* shew'd for his at *Colophon*, and a *tomb* at *Io*, both of equal strength to prove he had his birth in either. As for the *Athenians*, they challenged him as born where they had a colony; or else in behalf of *Greece* in general, and as the *metropolis* of its learning, they made his name free of their city (*qu. Lici-niâ & Mutiâ lege*, says * *Politian*) after the manner of that law by which all *Italy* became free of *Rome*. All these have their authors to record their titles, but still the weight of the question seems to lie between *Smyrna* and *Chios*, which we must therefore take a little more notice of. That *Homer* was born at *Smyrna*, is endeavoured to be proved by an † *Epigram*, recorded to have been under the statue of *Pisistratus* at *Athens*; by the reports mentioned in *Cicero*, *Strabo*, and *A. Gellius*; and by the *Greek* lives; which pass under the names of *Herodotus*, *Plutarch*, and *Proclus*; as also the two that are anonymous. The ‡ *Smyrneans* built a temple to him, cast medals of him, and grew so possess'd of his having been theirs, that it is said they burned *Zoilus* for affronting them in the person of *Homer*. On the other hand, the *Chians* plead the ancient authorities of § *Simonides* and

* *Politian. Præf. in Homerum.* † *Epigram on Pisistratus in the anonymous life before Homer.*

‡ *Vitruvius Proæm. l. 7.*

§ *Simonides Frag. de brevitate vitæ; quoting a verse of Homer.*

“Εἰ δὲ τὸ καλλίστον Χῖος εἶπεν ἀνὴρ.

and * *Theocritus* for his being born among them. They mention a race they had, called the *Homeride*, whom they reckoned his posterity; they cast medals of him; they shew to this day an *Homærium*, or temple of *Homer*, near *Boliffus*; and close their arguments with a quotation from the *Hymn to Apollo* (which is acknowledged for *Homer's* by † *Thucydides*) where he calls himself, “The blind man that inhabits *Chios*.” The reader has here the sum of the large treatise of *Leo Allatius*, written particularly on this subject ‡, in which, after having separately weighed the pretensions of all, he concludes for *Chios*. For my part, I determine nothing in a point of so much uncertainty; neither which of these was honoured with his birth, nor whether any of them was, nor whether each may not have produced his own *Homer*; since § *Xenophon* says, there were many of the name. But one cannot avoid being surpriz'd at the prodigious veneration for his character, which could engage mankind with such eagerness in a point so little essential; that Kings should send to oracles for the enquiry of his birth-place; that cities should be in strife about it; that whole lives of learned men should be employed upon it; that some should write treatises; that others should

call

* *Theocritus in Dioscuris, ad fin.*

———Χῆς ἀοιδός,
 *Ὑμνήσας Πριάμοιο πόλιν κὴ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν,
 Ἰλιάδας τε μάχας———

† *Thucyd. lib. 3.*

‡ *Leo Allatius de patriâ Homeri.*

§ *Xenophon de Œquiuacis.*

call up spirits about it; that thus, in short, heaven, earth and hell should be fought to, for the decision of a question which terminates in curiosity only.

If we endeavour to find the *parents* of *Homer*, the search is as fruitless. *His Parents.*

* *Ephorus* has made *Mæon* to be his father, by a niece whom he deflowered; and this has so far obtained, as to give him the derivative name of *Mæonides*. His mother (if we allow the story of *Mæon*) is called *Crytheis*: But we are lost again in uncertainty, if we search farther; for *Suidas* has mentioned *Eumetis* or *Polycaste*; and † *Pausanias*, *Clymene* or *Themisto*; which happens, because the contesting countries find out mothers of their own for him. Tradition has in this case afforded us no more light than what may serve to shew its shadows in confusion; they strike the right with so equal a probability, that we are in doubt which to chuse, and must pass the question undecided.

If we enquire concerning his own *His Name.* name, even that is doubted of. He has been called *Melesigenes* from the river where he was born. *Homer* has been reckoned an ascititious name, from some accident in his life: The *Certamen Homericum* calls him once *Auletes*, perhaps from his musical genius; and † *Lucian*, *Tigranes*; it may be from a confusion with that *Tigranes* or § *Tigretes*, who was brother of Queen *Artemisia*, and whose name has been so far mingled with his, as to make him

* *Plut. vita Hom. ex Ephoro.*

† *Pausanias, l. 10.*

‡ *Lucian's true history, l. 2.*

§ *Suidas de Tigrete.*

him be esteemed author of some of the lesser works which are ascribed to *Homer*. It may not be amiss to close these criticisms with that agreeable derision wherewith *Lucian* treats the humour of Grammarians in their search after minute and impossible enquiries, when he feigns, that he had talked over the point with *Homer*, in the *Island of the Blessed*. "I asked him, says he, of what country he was? a question hard to be resolved with us; to which he answered, He could not certainly tell, because some had informed him, that he was of *Chios*, some of *Smyrna*, and others of *Colophon*; but he took himself for a *Babylonian*, and said he was called *Tigranes*, while he lived among his countrymen; and *Homer* while he was a hostage among the *Grecians*."

At his birth he appears not to have been blind, whatever he might be afterwards. The *Chian* medal of him (which is of great antiquity, according to *Leo Allatius*) feats him with a volume open, and reading intently. But there is no need of proofs from antiquity for that which every line of his works will demonstrate. With what an exactness, agreeable to the natural appearance of things, do his cities stand, his mountains rise, his rivers wind, and his regions lie extended? How beautifully are the views of all things drawn in their figures, and adorned with their paintings? What address in action, what visible characters of the passions inspirit his heroes? It is not

to be imagined, that a man could have been always blind, who thus inimitably copies nature, and gives every where the proper proportion, figure, colour, and life: "*Quem si quis cæcum genitum putat* (says * *Paterculus*) "*omnibus sensibus orbis est:*" He must certainly have beheld the creation, considered it with a long attention, and enriched his fancy by the most sensible knowledge of those ideas which he makes the reader see while he but describes them.

As he grew forward in years, he was trained up to learning (if we credit † *Diodorus*) under one " *Pronapi-* *His Education and Master.*
"*des*, a man of excellent natural endowments, who taught the *Pelasgick* letter invented " by *Linus*." From him he might learn to preserve his poetry by committing it to writing; which we mention, because it is generally believed ‡ no poems before his were so preserved; and he himself in the third line of his *Batrachomyomachia* (if that piece be his) expressly speaks of § writing his works in his *tablets*.

When he was of riper years, for his farther accomplishment and the gratification of his thirst of knowledge, *His Travels.*
he spent a considerable part of his time in travelling. Upon which account || *Proclus* has taken notice that he

* *Paterculus*, l. 1.† *Diod. Sic.* l. 3.‡ *Joseph. cont. Appion*, l. 1.

§

ἀνιδῶς

" *Ἦν ἴσον ἐν δέλοις ἐμοῖς ἐπὶ γέγρασι θήκα.**Batrach.*|| *Procl. vitâ Hom.*

he must have been rich : “ For long travels, says he, “ occasion high expences, and especially at those “ times, when men could neither sail without immi- “ nent danger and inconveniencies, nor had a regu- “ lated manner of commerce with one another.”

This way of reasoning appears very probable; and if it does not prove him to have been rich, it shews him, at least, to have had patrons of a generous spirit; who observing the vastness of his capacity, believed themselves beneficent to mankind, while they supported one who seemed born for something extraordinary.

Ægypt being at that time the seat of learning, the greatest wits and genius's of *Greece* used to travel thither. Among these * *Diodorus* reckons *Homer*, and to strengthen his opinion alledges that multitude of their notions which he has received into his poetry, and of their customs, to which he alludes in his fictions: Such as his *Gods*, which are named from the first *Ægyptian Kings*; the number of the *Muses* taken from the *nine Minstrels*, which attended *Osiris*; the *Feast* wherein they used to send their statues of the Deities into *Æthiopia*, and to return after twelve days; and the carrying their dead bodies over the lake to a pleasant place called *Acherusia* near *Memphis*, from whence arose the stories of *Charon*, *Styx*, and *Elysium*. These are notions which so abound in him, as to make † *Herodotus* say, He had introduced from

* Diod. Sic. l. 1.

† Ὅμηρον γὰρ καὶ Ὅμηρον ἡλικίαν τετρακασίοισι ἔτεσι
δοκῶ μὲν πρεσβυτέρως γενέσθαι, καὶ ἔτι πλείους ἔτι δὲ εἰσι οἱ
πειθήσαντες

from thence the *religion* of *Greece*. And if others have believed he was an *Ægyptian*, from his knowledge of their rites and traditions, which were revealed but to few, and of the arts and customs which were practised among them in general; it may prove at least thus much, that he must have travelled there.

As *Greece* was in all probability his native country, and had then began to make an effort in learning, we cannot doubt but he travelled there also with a particular observation. He uses the different *dialects* which are spoken in its different parts, as one who had been conversant with them all. But the argument which appears most irrefragable, is to be taken from his *catalogue* of the *ships*: He has there given us an exact *Geography* of *Greece*, where its cities, mountains, and plains, are particularly mentioned, where the courses of its rivers are traced out, where the countries are laid in order, their bounds assigned, and the uses of their soils specified. This the ancients, who compared it with the original, have allowed to be so true in all points, that it could never have been owing to a loose and casual information: Even *Strabo's* account of *Greece* is but a kind of commentary upon *Homer's*.

We may carry this argument farther, to suppose his having been round *Asia Minor*, from his exact division of the *Regnum Priami vetus* (as *Horace* calls it) into its separate *Dynasties*, and the account he gives
of

ποιήσαντες θεογονίαν Ἕλλησι, καὶ τοῖσι θεοῖσι τὰς ἐπωνυμίας
δοῦναι, καὶ τιμὰς τε καὶ τέχνας διελόντες, καὶ εἰδὲν αὐτῶν
σημηνάντες. Herodot. l. 2.

of the bordering nations in alliance with it. Perhaps too, in the wanderings of *Ulysses* about *Sicily*, whose ports and neighbouring islands are mentioned, he might contrive to send his Hero where he had made his own voyage before. Nor will the fables he has intermingled be any objection to his having travelled into those parts, since they are not related as the history of the present time, but the tradition of the former. His mention of *Thrace*, his description of the beasts of *Libya*, and of the climate in the *Fortunate Islands*, may seem also to give us a view of him in the extremes of the earth, where it was not barbarous or uninhabited. It is hard to set limits to the travels of a man, who has set none to that desire of knowledge which made him undertake them. Who can say what people he has not seen, who appears to be versed in the customs of all? He takes the Globe for the scene on which he introduces his subject; he launches forward intrepidly, like one to whom no place is new, and appears a citizen of the world in general.

When he returned from his travels, he seems to have applied himself to the finishing of his Poems, however he might have either designed, begun, or pursued them before. In these he treasured up his various acquisitions of knowledge, where they have been preserved thro' many ages, to be as well the proofs of his own industry, as the instructions of posterity. He could then describe his sacrifices after the *Æolian* manner; or * his leagues with a mixture
of

* *Iliad*. 3.

of *Trojan* and *Spartan* ceremonies : * He could then compare the confusion of a multitude to that tumult he had observed in the *Icarian* sea, dashing and breaking among its crowd of islands : he could represent the numbers of an army, by those flocks of † swans he had seen on the banks of the *Cayster* : or being to describe that heat of battle with which *Achilles* drove the *Trojans* into the river, ‡ he could illustrate it with an allusion from *Cyrene* or *Cyprus*, where, when the inhabitants burned their fields, the grasshoppers fled before the fire to perish in the Ocean. His fancy being fully replenished, might supply him with every proper occasional image ; and his soul after having enlarged itself, and taken in an extensive variety of the creation, might be equal to the task of an *Iliad* and an *Odyssæy*.

In his old age, he fell blind, and settled at *Chios*, as he says in the *His old age and Hymn to Apollo*, (which, as is before observed, is acknowledged for Death. his by *Thucydides*, and might occasion both *Simonides* and *Theocritus* to call him a *Chian*.) § *Strabo* relates, That *Lycurgus*, the great legislator of *Sparta*, was reported to have gone to *Chios* to have a conference with *Homer*, after he had studied the laws of *Crete* and *Ægypt*, in order to form his constitutions. If this be true, how much a nobler representation does it give of him, and indeed more agreeable to what we conceive of this mighty genius, than those
spurious

* *Iliad*. V. 145.

† *Iliad*. 21. V. 12.

‡ *Iliad*. 2. V. 461.

§ *Strabo*, l. 10.

spurious accounts which keep him down among the meanest of mankind? What an idea could we frame to ourselves, of a conversation held between two persons so considerable; a philosopher conscious of the force of poetry, and a poet knowing in the depths of philosophy; both their souls improved with learning, both eminently raised above little designs or the meaner kind of interest, and meeting together to consult the good of mankind? But in this I have only indulged a thought which is not to be insisted upon; the evidence of history rather tends to prove that *Lycurgus* brought his works from *Asia* after his death: which * *Proclus* imagines to have happened at a great old age, on account of his vast extent of learning, for which a short life could never suffice.

If we would now make a conjecture concerning the genius and temper of this great man; perhaps his works which would not furnish us with facts for his life will be more reasonably made use of to give us a picture of his mind: To this end therefore, we may suffer the very name and notion of a book to vanish for a while, and look upon what is left us as a conversation, in order to gain an acquaintance with *Homer*. Perhaps the general air of his works will become the general character of his genius; and the particular observations give some light to the particular turns of his temper. His comprehensive knowledge shews that his soul was not formed like

* *Procl. vitâ Hom.*

like a narrow channel for a single stream, but as an expanse which might receive an ocean into its bosom; that he had the strongest desire of improvement, and an unbounded curiosity, which made its advantage of every transient circumstance, or obvious accident. His solid and sententious manner may make us admire him for a man of judgment: one who, in the darkest ages, could enter far into a disquisition of human nature; who, notwithstanding all the changes which governments, manners, rites, and even the notions of virtue, have undergone, could still abound with so many maxims correspondent to truth, and notions applicable to so many sciences. The fire, which is so observable in his Poem, may make us naturally conjecture him to have been of a warm temper, and lively behaviour; and the pleasurable air which every where overspreads it, may give us reason to think, that fire of imagination was tempered with sweetness and affability. If we farther observe the particulars he treats of, and imagine that he laid a stress upon the sentiments he delivers, pursuant to his real opinions; we shall take him to be of a religious spirit, by his inculcating in almost every page the worship of the Gods. We shall imagine him to be a generous lover of his country, from his care to extol it every where; which is carried to such a height, as to make * *Plutarch* observe, That though many of the *Barbarians* are made prisoners or suppliants, yet neither of these disgraceful accidents (which are common to all nations in war) ever happens to one *Greek*

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* *Plutarch de Aud. Poetis.*

throughout his works. We shall take him to be a compassionate lover of mankind, from his numberless praises of hospitality and charity ; (if indeed we are not to account for 'em, as the common writers of his life imagine, from his owing his support to these virtues.) It might seem from his love of stories, with his manner of telling them sometimes, that he gave his own picture when he painted his *Nestor*, and, as wise as he was, was no enemy to talking. One would think from his praises of wine, his copious goblets, and pleasing descriptions of banquets, that he was addicted to a chearful, sociable life, which *Horace* takes notice of as a kind of tradition ;

"*Laudibus arguitur vini vinosus Homerus.*" *Ep.* 19. l. 1.

And that he was not (as may be guessed of *Virgil* from his works) averse to the *female sex*, will appear from his care to paint them amiable upon all occasions : His *Andromache* and *Penelope* are in each of his Poems most shining characters of conjugal affection ; even his *Helena* herself is drawn with all the softnings imaginable ; his soldiers are exhorted to combat with the hopes of *women* ; his commanders are furnished with *fair slaves* in their tents, nor is the venerable *Nestor* without a *mistress*.

It is true, that in this way of turning a *book* into a *man*, this reasoning from his works to himself, we can at best but hit off a few out-lines of a character : wherefore I shall carry it no further, but conclude with one *discovery* which we may make from his *silence* ; a discovery extremely proper to be made in
this

this manner, which is, That he was of a very modest temper. There is in all other Poets a custom of speaking of themselves, and a vanity of promising eternity to their writings: in both which *Homer*, who has the best title to speak out, is altogether silent. As to the last of them, the world has made him ample recompense; it has given him that eternity he would not promise himself: But whatever endeavours have been offered in respect of the former, we find ourselves still under an irreparable loss. That which others have said of him has amounted to no more than conjecture; that which I have said is no further to be insisted on: I have used the liberty which is indulged me by precedent, to give my own opinions among the accounts of others, and the world may be pleased to receive them as so many willing endeavours to gratify its curiosity.

The only incontestable works which *Homer* has left behind him are the *Iliad* *Catalogue of* and *Odyssey*: The *Batrachomyomachia* his works. or *Battle of frogs and mice*, has been disputed, but is however allowed for this by many authors; among whom † *Statius* has reckoned it like the *Culex* of *Virgil*, a trial of his force before his greater performances. It is indeed a beautiful piece of raillery, in which a great writer might delight to unbend himself; an instance of that agreeable trifling which has been at some time or other indulged by the finest genius's, and the offspring of that amusing and chearful humour, which generally accompanies the

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character

† *Statius* *Præf. ad Sylv. 1.*

character of a rich imagination, like a vein of *Mercury* running mingled with a mine of *Gold*.

The *Hymns* have been doubted also, and attributed by the Scholiasts to *Cynæthus* the *Rhapsodist*; but neither † *Thucydides*, § *Lucian*, nor * *Pausanias*, have scrupled to cite them as genuine. We have the authority of the two former for that to *Apollo*, tho' it be observed that the word *Νέφος* is to be found in it, which the book *de Poesi Homericâ* (ascribed to *Plutarch*) tells us, was not in use in *Homer's* time. We have also an authority of the last for a ¶ *Hymn* to *Ceres*, of which he has given us a fragment. That to *Mars* is objected against for mentioning *Τύραννος*, and that which is the first to *Minerva*, for using *Τυχὴ*, both of them being, (according to the author of the treatise before mentioned) words of a later invention. The *Hymn* to *Venus* has many of its lines copied by *Virgil*, in the interview between *Æneas* and that Goddess, in the first *Æneid*. But whether these Hymns are *Homer's* or not, they are always judged to be near as ancient, if not of the same age with him.

The *Epigrams* are extracted out of the life, said to be written by *Herodotus*, and we leave them as such to stand or fall with it; except the Epitaph on *Midas*, which is very antient, quoted without its author, both by || *Plato* and † *Longinus*, and (according to †† *Laertius*) ascribed by *Simonides* to *Cleobulus* the

† *Thucyd.* l. 3.

* *Pausan. Bæotic.*

|| *Plat. in Phæd.*

§ *Lucian Phalarid.* 2.

¶ *Paus. Messen.*

† *Longin.* §. 36, edit. Tollii.

†† *Laertius in vita Cleobuli.*

the wife man; who living after *Homer*, answers better to the age of *Midas* the son of *Gordias*.

The *Margites*, which is lost, is said by § *Aristotle* to have been a Poem of a comic nature, wherein *Homer* made use of *idmbick* verses as proper for raillery. It was a jest upon the fair sex, and had its name from one *Margites*, a weak man who was the subject of it. The story is something loose, as may be seen by the account of it still preserved in † *Eustathius's* comment on the *Odyssy*.

The *Cercopes* was a satyrical work which is also lost; we may however imagine it was also levelled against the vices of men, if our conjecture be right that it was founded upon the * old fable of the *Cercopes*, a nation who were turned into *monkies* for their frauds and impostures.

The *Destruction of Oechalia*, was a Poem of which (according to *Eustathius*) *Hercules* was the Hero; and the subject, his ravaging that country; because *Eurytus* the King had denied him his daughter *Iole*.

The *Ilias Minor* was a piece which included both the taking of *Troy* and the return of the *Grecians*. In this was the story of *Sinon*, which *Virgil* has made use of. || *Aristotle* has judged it not to belong to *Homer*.

The *Cypriacks*, if it was upon them that *Nævius* founded his *Ilias Cypria*, (as † *Mr. Dacier* conjectures) were the *love adventures* of the *ladies* at the

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siege

§ *Arist. Poet. cap. 4.*

† *Eustath. in Odyss. 10.*

* *Ovid. Met. l. 14. de Cercop.*

|| *Arist. Poet. cap. 24.*

† *Dac. on Arist. Poet. cap. 24.*

fige: these are rejected by †† *Herodotus*, for saying that *Paris* brought *Helen* to *Troy* in three days; whereas *Homer* asserts they were long driven from place to place.

There are other things ascribed to him, such as the *Heptapection* goat, the *Arathnomachia*, &c. in the ludicrous manner; and the *Thebais Epigoni*, or second siege of *Thebes*, the *Phocias*, *Amazonia*, &c. in the serious: which, if they were his, are now to be reputed a real loss to the learned world. Time, in some things, may have prevailed over *Homer* himself, and left only the names of the works, as memorials that such were in being; but while the *Iliad* and *Odysey* remain, he seems like a leader, who, tho' he may have failed in a skirmish, has carry'd a victory, for which he passes in triumph through all future ages.

The remains we have at present, of those monuments antiquity had framed for him, are but few. It could not be thought that they who knew so little of the *life of Homer*, could have a right knowledge of his *person*: yet they had statues of him as of their Gods, whose forms they had never seen. “*Quinimò quæ non sunt, finguntur* (says †† *Pliny*) *pariuntque desideria non trahunt diti vultus, sicut in Homero evenit.*” But though the ancient portraits of him seem purely notional, yet they agree, (as I think || *Fabretti* has observed) in representing him with a short curled beard, and distinct marks of age in his forehead.

In

†† *Herod. l. 2.* †† *Pliny, l. 35. c. 2.* || *Raph. Fabret. Explicatio Veteris Tabellæ Anaglyphæ. Hom. Iliad.*

In *Bollissus* near *Chias*, there is a ruin, which was shewn for the house of *Homer*, which * *Leo Allatius* went on pilgrimage to visit, and (as he tells us) found nothing but a few stones crumbling away with age, over which he and his companions wept for satisfaction.

They erected temples to *Homer* in *Smyrna*, as appears from ¶ *Cicero*; one of these is supposed to be yet extant, and the same which they shew for the Temple of *Janus*. It agrees with † *Strabo*'s description, a square building of stone, near a river, thought to be the *Meles*, with two doors opposite to each other, North and South, and a large Niche within the east-wall, where the image stood: But *M. Spon* denies this to be the true *Homerium*.

Of the medals struck for him, there are some both of *Chios* and *Smyrna* still in being.

But that which of all that remains has been of late the chief amusement of the learned, is the marble called his *Apotheosis*, the work of *Archelaus* of *Priene*, and now in the palace of *Colonna*: We see there a temple hung with its veil, where *Homer* is placed on a seat with a footstool to it, as he has described the seats of the Gods; supported on each side with figures representing the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, the one by a sword, the other by the ornament of a ship, which denotes the voyages of *Ulysses*. On each side of his footstool are mice, in allusion to the *Batrachomyomachia*.

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trachomyomachia.

* *Leo Allat. de patria Hom. cap. 13.*

¶ *Cicero pro Archia.*

† *Strabo, l. 14. Τὸ Ὀμήρειον. εὐὸς τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἔχουσιν αὐτὸν Ὀμήρου καὶ ξοάνε, &c. de Smyrna.*

trachomyomachia. Behind is *Time* waiting upon him, and a figure with turrets on its head, which signifies the *World*, crowning him with the *Laurel*. Before him is an altar, at which all the *Arts* are sacrificing to him as to their Deity. On one side of the altar stands a boy, representing *Mythology*; on the other, a woman, representing *History*: After her is *Poetry*, bringing the *sacred fire*; and in a long following train, *Tragedy*, *Comedy*, *Nature*, *Virtue*, *Memory*, *Rhetorick*, and *Wisdom*. in all their proper attitudes.

S E C T. II.

HAVING now finished what was proposed concerning the history of *Homer's* life, I shall proceed to that of his works; and considering him no longer as a *Man*, but as an *Author*, prosecute the thread of his story in this his second life, through the different degrees of esteem which those writings have obtained in different periods of time.

It has been the fortune of several great Genius's not to be known while they lived, either for want of historians, the meanness of fortune, or the love of retirement, to which a poetical temper is peculiarly addicted. Yet after death their works give themselves a life in Fame, without the help of an historian; and, notwithstanding the meanness of their author, or his love of retreat, they go forth among mankind, the glories of that age which produced them, and the delight of those which follow it. This

is

is a fate particularly verified in *Homer*, than whom no considerable author is less known as to himself, or more highly valued as to his productions.

The earliest account of these is said by * *Plutarch* to be some time after *The first publi-*
his death, when *Lycurgus* failed to cation of his
Asia: "There he had the first sight Works by Ly-
" of *Homer's* works, which were pro- curgus.
" bably preserved by the grand-chil-
" dren of *Creophilus*; and having observed that their
" pleasurable air of fiction did not hinder the Poet's
" abounding in maxims of state, and rules of mo-
" rality, he transcribed and carried with him that en-
" tire collection we have now among us: For at that
" time (continues this author) there was only an ob-
" scure rumour in *Greece* to the reputation of these
" Poems, and but a few scattered fragments handed
" about, 'till *Lycurgus* published them entire."
Thus they were in danger of being lost as soon as
they were produced, by the misfortune of the age, a
want of taste in learning, or the manner in which
they were left to posterity, when they fell into the
hands of *Lycurgus*. He was a man of great learn-
ing, a law-giver to a people divided and untractable,
and one who had a notion that poetry influenced and
civilized the minds of men; which made him smooth
the way to his constitution by the songs of *Thales* the
Cretan, whom he engaged to write upon obedience
and concord. As he proposed to himself, that the
constitution he would raise upon this their union
should be of a martial nature, these poems were of

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an

• *Plutarch. Apophtheg.*

an extraordinary value to him; for they came with a full force into his scheme; the moral they inspired was unity; the air they breathed was martial; and their story had this particular engagement for the *Lacedæmonians*, that it shewed *Greece* in war, and *Asia* subdued under the conduct of one of their own Monarchs, who commanded all the *Grecian* Princes. Thus the Poet both pleased the law-giver, and the people; from whence he had a double influence when the laws were settled. For his Poem then became a Panegyrick on their constitution, as well as a Register of their glory; and confirmed them in the love of it by a gallant description of those qualities and actions for which it was adapted. This made † *Cleomenes* call him *The Poet of the Lacedæmonians*: And therefore when we remember that *Homer* owed the publication of his works to *Lycurgus*, we should grant too, that *Lycurgus* owed in some degree the enforcement of his laws to the works of *Homer*.

At their first appearance in *Greece*, *Their reception* they were not digested into a regular body, but remained as they were brought over, in several detached pieces, called, (according to * *Ælian*) from the subject on which they treated; as, *the battle at the ships*, *the death of Dolon*, *the valour of Agamemnon*, *the Patroclea*, *the grot of Calypso*, *slaughter of the Wooers*, and the like. Nor were these entitled *Books*, but *Rhapsodies*; from whence they that sung them had the title of *Rhapsodists*. It was in this manner they began to be dispersed, while their poetry, their history,

† Plutarch. *Apophtheg.*

* *Ælian*. l. 13. cap. 14.

history, the glory they ascribed to *Greece* in general, the particular description they gave of it, and the compliment they paid to every little state by an honourable mention, so influenced all, that they were transcribed and sung with general approbation. But what seems to have most recommended them was, that *Greece* which could not be great in its divided condition, looked upon the fable of them as a likely plan of future grandeur. They seem from thenceforward to have had an eye upon the conquest of *Asia*, as a proper undertaking, which by its importance might occasion union enough to give a diversion from civil wars, and by its prosecution bring in an acquisition of honour and empire. This is the meaning of * *Isocrates*, when he tells us, " That *Homer's* poetry
 " was in greater esteem, because it gave exceeding
 " praise to those who fought against the *Barbarians*.
 " Our ancestors (continues he) honoured it with a
 " place in education and musical contests, that by
 " often hearing it we should have a notion of an
 " original enmity between us and those nations;
 " and that admiring the virtue of those who fought
 " at *Troy*, we should be induced to emulate their
 " glory." And indeed they never quitted this thought,
 'till

* Οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τὴν Ὅμηρον ποιητὴν μίζω λαβεῖν δόξαν, ὅτι καλῶς τῆς πολυμήσαντας τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐνεγκωμιάσῃ καὶ διὰ τῆτο βωληθῆναι τῆς προγόνους ἡμῶν ἐνλίπον αὐτῇ ποιῆσαι τὴν τέχνην, ἐν τε τοῖς τῆς μουσικῆς ἀθλείς, καὶ τῇ παιδεύσει τῶν νεότητων ἵνα πολλάκις ἀκρόνῃς τῶν ἐπῶν, ἐκμανθάνωμεν τὸν ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς αὐτὰς ὑπάρχουσαν, καὶ ζηλοῦντες τὰς ἀρετὰς τῶν ἑραλειουσάμενων ἐπὶ Τροίαν τῶν αὐτῶν ἔργων ἐκείνης ἐπιβοῶμεν. *Isocrat. Paneg.*

'till they had successfully carried their arms where-
ever *Homer* might thus excite them.

But while his works were suffered
Digested into to lie in an unconnected manner, the
order at A- chain of the story was not always
thens. perceived, so that they lost much of

their force and beauty by being read
disorderly. Wherefore as *Lacedæmon* had the first
honour of their publication by *Lycurgus*, that of their
regulation fell to the share of *Athens* in the time of
* *Solon*, who himself made a law for their recital. It
was then that *Pisistratus*, the Tyrant of *Athens*, who
was a man of great learning and eloquence, (as † *Ci-
cero* has it) first put together the confused parts of
Homer, according to that regularity in which they
are now handed down to us. He divided them into
the two different Works, entitled the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*;
he digested each according to the Author's design, to
make their plans become evident; and distinguished
each again into twenty-four books, to which were
afterwards prefixed the twenty-four letters. There is
a passage indeed in † *Plato*, which takes this Work
from *Pisistratus*, by giving it to his son *Hipparchus*;
with this addition, that he commanded them to be
sung at the feast called *Panathenæa*. Perhaps it may
be,

* Diog. Laert. vit. Sol.

† Quis doctior iisdem illis temporibus, aut cujus eloquentia
litteris instructior quàm *Pisistratus*? Qui primus *Homeri* libros,
confusos antea, sic disposuisse dicitur ut nunc habemus. Cic.
de Orat. l. 3. Vide etiam *Æl.* l. 13. cap. 14. Liban. *Panegy.* in
Jul. *Antonymam* *Homeri* vitam. Fusus vero in *Commentatoribus*
Dyon. Thracis.

‡ Plato in *Hipparcho*.

be, as * *Leo Allatius* has imagined, because the son published the copy more correctly: This he offers, to reconcile so great a testimony as *Plato's* to the cloud of witnesses which are against him in it: But be that as it will, *Athens* still claims its proper honour of rescuing the father of learning from the injuries of time, of having restored *Homer* to himself, and given the world a view of him in his perfection. So that if his verses were before admired for their *use* and *beauty*, as the stars were, before they were considered in a system of science; they were now admired much more for their graceful harmony, and that sphere of order in which they appear to move. They became thenceforward more the pleasure of the wits of *Greece*, more the subject of their studies, and the employment of their pens.

About the time that this new edition of *Homer* was published in *Athens*, there was one *Cynethus*, a learned *Rhapsodist*, who (as the † *Scholiast* of *Pindar* informs us) settled first at *Syracuse* in that employment; and if (as *Leo Allatius* believes) he had been before an assistant in the edition, he may be supposed to have first carried it abroad. But it was not long preserved correct among his followers; they committed mistakes in their transcriptions and repetitions, and had even the presumption to alter some lines, and interpolate others. Thus the works of *Homer* ran the danger of being utterly defaced; which made it become the concern of Kings and Philosophers, that they should be restored to their primitive beauty.

In

* *Leo Allatius de patriâ Hom. cap. 5.*

† *Schol. Pind. in Nem. Od. 2.*

In the front of these is *Alexander the Great*, for whom they will appear peculiarly calculated, if we consider that no books more enliven or flatter personal valour, which was great in him to what we call romantic: Neither has any book more places applicable to his designs on *Asia*, or (as it happened) to his actions there. It was then no ill compliment in * *Aristotle* to purge the *Iliad*, upon this account, from those errors and additions which had crept into it. And so far was *Alexander* himself from esteeming it a matter of small importance, that he afterwards † assisted in a strict review of it with *Anaxarchus* and *Calisthenes*; whether it was merely because he esteemed it a treasury of military virtue and knowledge; or that (according to a late ingenious conjecture) he had a farther aim in promoting the propagation of it, when he was ambitious to be esteemed a son of *Jupiter*; as a book which, treating of the sons of the Gods, might make the intercourse between them and mortals become a familiar notion. The review being finished, he laid it up in a casket, which was found among the spoils of *Darius*; as what best deserved so inestimable a case; and from this circumstance it was named, *The Edition of the casket*.

The

* Plut. in vitâ Alexandri.

† φέρεται γὰρ τις διόρθωσις τῆς Ὀμήρου ποιήσεως ἢ ἐκ τῆ Νάρθηκος λεγομένη τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ μετὰ τῷ περὶ Καλλισθένη καὶ Ἀναξαρχοῦ ἐπιβάντος, καὶ σημειωσαμένῳ ἐπεὶ κατεβάντος εἰς Νάρθηκα ὃν εὗρεν ἐν Περσικῇ γὰρ πολυτελῶς κατεσκευασμένον. Strab. lib. 13.

The place where the works of *Homer* were next found in the greatest Editions in *Ægypt*, is *Ægypt*, under the reign of the *Ptolemies*. These Kings, being descended from *Greece*, retained always a passion for their original country. The men, the books, the qualifications of it, were in esteem in their court; they preserved the language in their family; they encouraged a concourse of learned men; erected the greatest library in the world; and trained up their Princes under *Grecian* tutors; among whom the most considerable were appointed for revisers of *Homer*. The first of these was * *Zenodotus*, library-keeper to the first *Ptolemy*, and qualified for this undertaking by being both a Poet and a Grammarian. But neither his copy, nor that which his disciple *Aristophanes* had made, satisfying *Aristarchus*, (whom *Ptolemy Philometor* had appointed over his son *Euergetes*) he set himself to another correction with all the wit and learning he was master of. He restored some verses to their former readings, rejected others which he marked with *obelisks* as spurious, and proceeded with such industrious accuracy, that, notwithstanding there were some who wrote against his performance, antiquity has generally acquiesced in it. Nay, so far have they carried their opinion in his favour, as to call a man an † *Aristarchus* when they meant to say a candid, judicious Critick; in the same manner as they

• Suidas.

† Arguet ambiguè dictum; mutanda notabit;
Fiet *Aristarchus* — Horat. *Art Poetica*.

they call the contrary a *Zoilus*, from that *Zoilus* who about this time wrote an envious criticism against *Homer*. And now we mention these two together, I fancy it will be no small pleasure to the benevolent part of mankind, to see how their characters stand in contrast to each other, for examples to future ages, at the head of the two contrary sorts of criticism, which proceed from good nature or ill will. The one was honoured with the offices and countenance of the court; the other, * when he applied to the same place for an encouragement amongst the men of learning, had his petition rejected: The one had his fame continued to posterity; the other is only remembered with infamy: If the one had antagonists, they were obliged to pay him the deference of a formal answer; the other was never answered but in general, with those opprobrious names of *Thracian slave*, and *rhetorical dog*: The one is supposed to have his copy still remaining; while the other's remarks are perished, as things that men were ashamed to preserve, the just desert of whatever arises from the miserable principles of ill will or envy.

It was not the ambition of *Ægypt* in Syria and only to have a correct edition of *Homer*. We find in the † life of the *Asia*. Poet *Aratus*, that he having finished

a copy of the *Odyssey*, was sent for by *Antiochus* King of Syria, and entertained by him while he finished one of the *Iliads*. We read too of others

* Vitruv. l. 7. in *Proem*.

† *Author vitæ Arati*, & *Suidas in Arato*.

others which were published with the names of countries; such as the † *Massaliotick* and *Sinopick*: as if the world were agreed to make his works in their survival undergo the same fate with himself; and that as different cities contended for his birth, so they might contend for his true edition. But though these reviews were not peculiar to *Ægypt*, the greatest honour was theirs, in that universal approbation which the performance of *Aristarchus* received; and if it be not his edition which we have at present, we know not to whom to ascribe it.

But the world was not contented barely to have settled an edition of *In India and* his works. There were innumerable comments, in which they were opened like a treasury of learning; and translations, whereby other languages became enriched by an infusion of his spirit of poetry. * *Ælian* tells us, that even the *Indians* had them in their tongue, and the *Persian* Kings sung them in theirs. ‡ *Perfius* mentions a version in *Latin* by *Labeo*; and in general the passages and imitations which are taken from him, are so numerous, that he may be said to have been translated by piece-meal into that, and all other languages; Which affords us this remark, that there is hardly any thing in him, which has not been pitched upon by some author or other as a particular beauty.

It

† Eustathius *initio Iliados*.

* *Ælian*, l. 12. cap. 48.

‡ *Perfius*, Sat. 1.

The extent and height of their reputation in the Heathen World.

It is almost incredible to what an height the idea of that veneration the ancients paid to *Homer* will arise, to one who reads particularly with this view, through all these periods. He was no sooner come from his obscurity, but *Greece* received him with delight and profit: There were then but few books to divide their attention, and none which had a better title to engross it all. They made some daily discoveries of his beauties, which were still promoted in their different channels by the favourite qualities of different nations. *Sparta* and *Macedon* considered him most in respect of his warlike spirit; *Athens* and *Ægypt* with regard to his poetry and learning; and all their endeavours united under the hands of the learned, to make him blaze forth into an universal character. His works, which from the beginning passed for excellent poetry, grew to be history and geography; they rose to be a magazine of Sciences; were exalted into a scheme of religion; gave a sanction to whatever rites they mentioned; were quoted in all cases for the conduct of life, and learned by heart as the very book of belief and practice. From him the Poets drew their inspirations, the Criticks their rules, and the Philosophers a defence of their opinions: Every author was fond to use his name; and every profession writ books upon him, 'till they swelled to libraries. The warriors formed themselves by his Heroes, and the oracles delivered his verses for answers. Nor was mankind satisfied to have seated his character at the top of human wisdom, but being overborne with

an

an imagination that he transcended their species, they admitted him to share in those honours they gave the deities. They instituted games for him, dedicated statues, erected temples, as at *Smyrna*, *Chios*, and *Alexandria*; and * *Ælian* tells us, that when the *Argives* sacrificed with their guests, they used to invoke the presence of *Apollo* and *Homer* together.

Thus he was settled on a foot of adoration, and continued highly venerated in the *Roman* empire, when *Christianity* began. Heathenism was then to be destroyed, and *Homer* appeared the father of it; whose fictions were at once the belief of the Pagan religion, and the objections of Christianity against it. He became therefore very deeply involved in the question; and not with that honour which hitherto attended him, but as a criminal who had drawn the world into folly. He was on one hand accused for having framed † fables upon the works of *Moses*; as the rebellion of the Giants, from the building of *Babel*, and the casting *Atè* or *Strife* out of heaven from the fall of *Lucifer*. He was exposed on the other hand for those which he is said to invent, as when ‡ *Arnobius* cries out, "This is the man who wounded your *Venus*, imprisoned your *Mars*, who freed even your *Jupiter* by *Briareus*, and who finds authorities for all your vices," &c.

Mankind

* *Ælian*. l. 9. cap. 15.

† *Justin Martyr*, *Admonit. ad gentes*.

‡ *Arnobius adversus gentes*, l. 7.

Mankind was * derided for whatever he had hitherto made them believe; and † *Plato*, who expelled him his commonwealth, has, of all the Philosophers, found the best quarters from the Fathers, for passing that sentence. His finest beauties began to take a new appearance of pernicious qualities; and because they might be considered as allurements to fancy, or supports to those errors with which they were mingled, they were to be depreciated while the contest of faith was in being. It was hence, that the reading them was discouraged, that we hear *Ruffinus* accusing *St. Jerome* for it, and that ‡ *St. Austin* rejects him as the grand master of fable; though indeed the *dulcissimè vanus* which he applies to *Homer*, looks but like a fondling manner of parting with him.

This strong attack upon our author obliged those Philosophers, who could have acquiesced as his admirers, to appear as his defenders; who, because they saw the fables could not be literally supported, endeavoured to find a hidden sense, and to carry on every where that vein of *allegory*, which was already broken open with success in some places. But how miserably were they forced to shifts, when they made § *Juno's* dressing in the *Cestus* for *Jupiter*, to signify the purging of the *air* as it approached the *fire*? Or the story of *Mars* and *Venus*, that inclination they have

* *Vid. Tertul. Apol. cap. 14.*

† *Arnobius, ibid. Eusebius præp. Evangel. l. 14. cap. 10.*

‡ *St. August. Confess l. 1. cap. 14.*

§ *Plutarch on reading the Poets.*

have to incontinency who are born when these planets are in conjunction? Wit and learning had here a large field to display themselves, and to disagree in; for sometimes *Jupiter*, and sometimes *Vulcan*, was made to signify the *fire*: or *Mars* and *Venus* were allowed to give us a lecture of *morality* at one time, and a problem of *astronomy* at another. And these strange discoveries, which * *Porphyry* and the rest would have to pass for the genuine *theology* of the *Greeks*, prove but (as † *Eusebius* terms it) the perverting of fables into a mystic sense. They did indeed often defend *Homer*, but then they allegorized away their Gods by doing so. What the world took for substantial objects of adoration, dissolved into a figurative meaning, a moral truth, or a piece of learning, which might equally correspond to any religion; and the learned at last had left themselves nothing to worship, when they came to find an object in Christianity.

The dispute of faith being over, ancient learning reassumed its dignity, and *Homer* obtained his proper place in the esteem of mankind. His books are now no longer the scheme of a living religion, but become the register of one in former times. They are not now received for a rule of life, but valued for those just observations which are dispersed through them. They are no longer pronounced from oracles, but quoted still by authors for their learning.

* *Porphyrius de Astro Nymph. &c.*

† *Eusebii præpar. Evangel. l. 3. cap. 1.*

learning. Those remarks which the Philosophers made upon them, have their weight with us; those beauties which the Poets dwelled upon, their admiration: And even after the abatement of what was extravagant in his run of praise, he remains confessedly a mighty genius not transcended by any which have since arisen; a Prince, as well as a Father, of *Poetry*.

S E C T. III.

A view of the learning of Homer's time. IT remains in this historical essay, to regulate our present opinion of *Homer*, by a view of his learning, compared with that of his age. For this end he may first be considered as a Poet, that character which was his professedly; and secondly as one endowed with other sciences, which must be spoken of, not as in themselves but as in subserviency to his main design. Thus he will be seen on his right foot of perfection in one view, and with the just allowances which should be made on the other: While we pass through the several heads of science, the state of those times in which he writ will shew us both the impediments he rose under, and the reason why several things in him which have been objected to, either could not, or should not be otherwise than they are.

As

As for the state of *Poetry*, it was at a low pitch in the age of *Homer*. There is mention of *Orpheus*, *Linus*, and *Musæus*, venerable names in antiquity, and eminently celebrated in fable for the wonderful power of their songs and music. The learned *Fabricius*, in his *Bibliotheca Græca*, has reckoned about seventy who are said to have written before *Homer*: but their works were not preserved, and can be only considered (if they were really excellent) as the happiness of their own generation. What sort of Poets *Homer* saw in his own time, may be gathered from his description of * *Demodocus* and *Phemius*, whom he has introduced to celebrate his profession. The imperfect rising of the art lay then among the (*extempore*) fingers of stories at banquets; who were half fingers, half musicians. Nor was the name of *Poet* then in being, or once used throughout *Homer's* works. From this poor state of Poetry, he has taken a handle to usher it into the world with the boldest stroke of praise which has ever been given it. It is in the eighth *Odyssey*, where *Ulysses* puts *Demodocus* upon a trial of skill. *Demodocus* having diverted the guests with some actions of the *Trojan* war; “† All this (says *Ulysses*) you have sung very elegantly, as if you had either been present, or heard it reported; but pass now to a subject I shall give you, sing the management of *Ulysses* in the wooden horse, just as it happened, and I will acknowledge the Gods have taught you your songs.” This the
finger

* *Od.* 1st, and *Od.* 8th.† *Olyss.* l. 8. v. 487, &c.

finger being inspired from heaven begins immediately, and *Ulysses*, by weeping at the recital, confesses the truth of it. We see here a narration which could only pass upon an age extremely ignorant in the nature of Poetry, where that claim of inspiration is given to it which it has never since laid down, and (which is more) a power of prophesying at pleasure ascribed to it. Thus much therefore we gather from himself, concerning the most ancient state of Poetry in *Greece*; that no one was honoured with the name of Poet, before him whom it especially belonged to ever after. And if we farther appeal to the consent of authors, we find he has other titles for being called the first. * *Josephus* observes, That the *Greeks* have not contested but he was the most ancient, whose books they had in writing. † *Aristotle* says, "He was the first who brought all the parts of a poem into one piece," to which he adds, "with true judgment," to give him a praise, including both the invention and perfection. And *Horace* seems to think, that he invented the very *measure* which is called *Heroic* from the subjects on which he employed it;

*Res gestæ regumque, ducumque, & fortia bella,
Quo scribi possint numero monstravit Homerus ‡.*

Whatever was serious or magnificent made a part of his subject: War and peace were the comprehensive division in which he considered the world; and the plans

* *Joseph. contra Appion. l. 1.* † *Arist. Poet. cap. 25.*

‡ *Hor. Epist. ad Pisones. v. 73.*

plans of his poems were founded on the most active scenes of each, the adventures of a siege, and the accidents of a voyage. For these, his spirit was equally active and various, lofty in expression, clear in narration, natural in description, rapid in action, abundant in figures. If ever he appears less than himself, it is from the time he writ in; and if he runs into errors, it is from an excess, rather than a defect of genius. Thus he rose over the poetical world, shining out like a sun all at once; which if it sometimes makes too *faint* an appearance, 'tis to be ascribed only to the necessity of the season that keeps it at a distance; and if he is sometimes too *violent*, we confess at the same time that we owe all things to his heat.

As for his *Theology*, we see the Heathen system entirely followed. This was all he *Theology*. could then have to work upon, and where he fails of truth for want of revelation, he at least shews his knowledge in his own religion by the traditions he delivers. But we are now upon a point to be further handled, because the greatest controversy concerning the merit of *Homer* depends upon it. Let us consider then, that there was an age in *Greece*, when natural reason only discovered there must be something superior to us, and tradition had affixed the notion to a number of Deities. At this time *Homer* rose with the finest turn imaginable for Poetry, who designing to instruct mankind in the manner for which he was most adapted, made use of the ministry of the Gods to give the highest air of surprize and veneration to his writings. He found the religion of mankind wrapt up in fables; it was thought then the

easiest method to convey morals to the people, who were allured to attention by pleasure, and awed with the opinion of a hidden mystery. Nor was it his business when he undertook the province of a poet (not of a mere philosopher) to be the first who should discard that which furnishes Poetry with its most beautiful appearance: and especially, since the age he lived in, by discovering its taste, had not only given him authority, but even put him under the necessity of preserving it. Whatever therefore he might think of his Gods, he took them as he found them: he brought them into action according to the notions which were then entertained, and in some stories as they were then believed; unless we imagine that he invented every thing he delivers. Yet there are several rays of truth streaming thro' all this darkness, in those sentiments he entertains concerning the Gods; and several allegories lightly veiled over, from whence the learned drew new knowledges, each according to his power of penetration and fancy. But that we may the better comprehend him in all the parts of this general view, let us extract from him a scheme of his religion.

He has a *Jupiter*; a *father of Gods and men*, whom he makes supreme, and to whom he applies several attributes, as wisdom, justice, knowledge, power, &c. which are essentially inherent to the idea of a God *. He has given him two *vessels*, out of which he distributes natural *good* or *evil* for the life of man; he places the Gods in council round him; he makes † *Prayers* pass to and fro before him; and mankind adore

* Iliad. 24. v. 527.

† Il. 9. v. 498.

adore him with sacrifice. But all this grand appearance, wherein Poetry paid a deference to reason, is dashed and mingled with the imperfection of our nature; not only with the applying our passions to the supreme being (for men have always been treated with this compliance to their notions) but that he is not even exempted from our common appetites and frailties: For he is made to eat, drink, and sleep: but this his admirers would imagine to be only a grosser way of representing a general notion of happiness, because he says in one place, * that the food of the Gods was not of the same nature with ours. But, upon the whole, while he endeavoured to speak of a Deity without a right information, he was forced to take him from that image he discovered in *man*; and (like one who, being dazzled with the sun in the heavens, would view him as he is reflected in a river) he has taken off the impression not only ruffled with the emotion of our passions, but obscured with the earthly mixture of our natures.

The other Gods have all their provinces assigned them; "Every thing has its peculiar Deity, says † "*Maximus Tyrius*, by which *Homer* would insinuate "that the Godhead was present to all things." When they are considered farther, we find he has turned the virtues and endowments of our minds into *persons*, to make the springs of action become visible; and because they are given by the Gods, he represents them as Gods themselves descending from heaven. In the same strong light he shews our vices when

E 2

they

* Il. 5. v. 340.

† *Maxim. Tyr. Diss.* 16.

they occasion misfortunes, like extraordinary powers which inflict them upon us; and even our natural punishments are represented as punishers themselves. But when we come to see the manner they are introduced in, they are found feasting, fighting, wounded by men, and shedding a sort of blood; in which his machines play a little too grossly: the fable which was admitted to procure the pleasure of surprise, violently oppresses the moral, and it may be lost labour to search for it in every minute circumstance, if indeed it was intended to be there. The main design was however philosophical, the dress the poet's, which was used for necessity, and allowed to be ornamental. And something still may be offered in his defence, if he has both preserved the grand moral from being obscured, and adorned the parts of his works with such sentiments of the Gods as belonged to the age he lived in; which that he did appears from his having then had that success for which allegory was contrived. "It is the madness of men," says * *Maximus Tyrius*, to disesteem what is plain, "and admire what is hidden; this the poets discovering, invented the fable for a remedy, when they treated of holy matters; which being more obscure than conversation, and more clear than the riddle, is a mean between knowledge and ignorance, believed partly for being agreeable, and partly for being wonderful. Thus as Poets in name, and Philosophers in effect, they drew mankind gradually to search after truth, when the name of philosopher

“ philosopher would have been harsh and displeasing.”

When *Homer* proceeds to tell us our duty to these superior beings, we find prayer, sacrifice, lustration, and all the rites which were esteemed religious, constantly recommended under fear of their displeasure. We find too a notion of the soul's subsisting after this life, but for want of revelation he knows not what to reckon the happiness of a future state, to any one who was not deified; which is plain from the speech of * *Achilles* to *Ulysses* in the region of the dead; where he tells him, that “ he would rather “ serve the poorest creature upon earth, than rule “ over all the departed.” It was chiefly for this reason that *Plato* excluded him his commonwealth; he thought *Homer* spoke indecently of the Gods, and dreadfully of a future state; in which sentence he has made no allowance for the times he writ in. But if he cannot be defended in every thing as a theologist, yet we may say, in respect of his poetry, that he has enriched it from theology with true sentiments for profit; adorned it with allegories for pleasure; and by using some machines which have no farther significancy, or are so refined as to make it doubted if they have any, he has however produced that character in poetry which we call the *Marvellous*, and from which the *agreeable* (according to *Aristotle*) is always inseparable.

* *Odyss.* 11. v. 488.

Politicks. If we take the state of *Greece* at his time in a political view, we find it a * disunited country, made up of small states: and whatever was managed in war amounted to no more than intestine skirmishes, or piracies abroad, which were easily revenged on account of their dis-union. Thus one people stole *Europa*, and another *Io*; the *Grecians* took *Hesione* from *Troy*, and the *Trojans* took *Helena* from *Greece* in revenge. But this last having greater friends and alliances than any upon whom the rapes had hitherto fallen, the ruin of *Troy* was the consequence; and the force of the *Asiatic* coasts was so broken, that this accident put an end to the age of piracies. Then the intestine broils of *Greece* (which had been discontinued during the league) were renewed upon its dissolution. War and sedition moved people from place to place, during its want of inhabitants; Exiles from one country were received from Kings in another; and Leaders took tracts of ground to bestow them upon their followers. Commerce was neglected, living at home unsafe, and nothing of moment transacted by any but against their neighbours. *Athens* only, where the people were undisturbed, because it was a barren soil which no body coveted, had begun to send colonies abroad, being overstocked with inhabitants.

Now a Poem coming out at such a time, with a Moral capable of healing these disorders, by promoting *Union*, we may reasonably think it was designed for that end to which it is so peculiarly adapted.

If

* See Thucydides, lib. 1.

If we imagine therefore, that *Homer* was a politician in this affair, we may suppose him to have looked back into the ages past, to see if at any time these disorders had been less; and to have pitched upon that story, wherein they found a temporary cure; that by celebrating it with all possible honour he might instil a desire of the same sort of union into the hearts of his countrymen. This indeed was a work which could belong to none but a poet, when Governors had power only over small territories, and the numerous Governments were every way independent. It was then that all the charms of poetry were called forth, to insinuate the important glory of an alliance; and the *Iliad* delivered from the Muses, with all the pomp of words and artificial influence.

Union among themselves was recommended, peace at home, and glory abroad: And lest this should be rendered useless by mismanagements, he lets us into farther lessons concerning it: How when his Kings quarrel, their subjects suffer; when they act in conjunction, victory attends them: when they meet in council, plans are drawn and provisions made for future action; and when in the field, the arts of war are described with the greatest exactness. These were lectures of general concern to mankind, proper for the Poet to deliver, and Kings to attend to; such as made *Porphry* write of the profit that princes might receive from *Homer*; and *Stratocles*, *Hermias*, and *Frontinus* extract military discipline out of him. Thus tho' *Plato* has banished him from one imaginary commonwealth, he has still been serviceable to many real kingdoms.

The morality of *Greece* could not be perfect while there was a weakness in its government ; faults in Politics are occasioned by faults in Ethics, and occasion them in their turn. The division into so many states was the rise of frequent quarrels, whereby men were bred up in a rough untractable disposition. Bodily strength met with the greatest honours, because it was daily necessary to the subsistence of little governments ; and that head-long courage which throws itself forward to enterprize and plunder, was universally carested, because it carried all things before it. It is no wonder in an age of such education and customs, that, * *Thucydides* says, " Robbing was honoured, provided " it was done with gallantry, and that the ancient " poets made people question one another as they " sailed by, *if they were thieves ?* as a thing for " which no one ought either to be scorned or upbraided." These were the sort of actions which the singers then recorded, and it was out of such an age that *Homer* was to take his subjects. For this reason (not a want of morality in him) we see a boasting temper and unmanaged roughness in the spirit of his Heroes, which ran out in pride, anger, or cruelty. It is not in him as in our modern Romances, where men are drawn in perfection, and we but read with a tender weakness what we can neither apply nor emulate. *Homer* writ for men, and therefore he writ of them ; if the world had been better, he would have shown it so : as the matter now stands, we see his people

* *Thucyd. lib. 1.*

people with the turn of his age, insatiably thirsting after glory and plunder; for which however he has found them a lawful cause, and taken care to retard their success by those very faults.

In the prosecution of the story every part of it has its lessons of morality: There is brotherly love in *Agamemnon* and *Menelaus*, friendship in *Achilles* and *Patroclus*, and the love of his country in *Hector*. But since we have spoken of the *Iliad* as more particular for its politics, we may consider the *Odyssey* as its moral is more directly framed for ethics. It carries the Hero through a world of trials both of the dangerous and pleasurable nature. It shows him first under most surprizing weights of adversity, among shipwrecks and savages; all these he is made to pass through, in the methods by which it becomes a man to conquer; a patience in suffering, and a presence of mind in every accident. It shows him again in another view, tempted with the baits of idle or unlawful pleasures; and then points out the methods of being safe from them. But if in general we consider the care our author has taken to fix his lessons of morality by the proverbs and precepts he delivers, we shall not wonder if *Greece*, which afterwards gave the appellation of *wise* to men who settled *single sentences* of truth, should give him the title of the *Father of Virtue*, for introducing such a number. To be brief, if we take the opinion of * *Horace*, he has proposed him to us

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* Qui quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile, quid non,
Plinius & melius Chrysippo & Crantore dicit.

Her. Ep. 2. l. 7.

as a master of morality ; he lays down the common philosophical division of *good*, into *pleasant*, *profitable*, and *best* ; and then asserts that *Homer* has more fully and clearly instructed us in each of them, than the most rigid philosophers.

Some indeed have thought, notwithstanding all this, that *Homer* had only a design to please in his inventions ; and that others have since extracted morals out of his stories (as indeed all stories are capable of being used so) But this is an opinion concerning Poetry, which the world has rather degenerated into, than begun with. The tradition of *Orpheus's* civilizing mankind by hymns on the Gods, with others of the like nature, may show there was a better use of the art both known and practised. There is also a remarkable passage of this kind in the third book of the *Odyssey*, that *Agamemnon* left one of the * Poets of those times in his Court when he sailed for *Troy* ; and that his Queen was preserved virtuous by his songs, 'till *Ægisthus* was forced to expel him in order to debauch her. Here he has hinted what a true poetical spirit can do, when applied to the promotion of virtue ; and from this one may judge he could not but design that himself, which he recommends as the duty and merit of his profession. Others since his time may have seduced the art to worse intentions ; but they who are offended at the liberties of some poets, should not condemn all in the gross for trifling or corruption ; especially when the evidence runs so strongly for any one, to the contrary.

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* *Odys.* 3. v. 267.

We may in general go on to observe, that the time when *Homer* was born did not abound in learning. For where-ever politics and morality are weak, learning wants its peaceable air to thrive in. He is himself the man from whom we have the first accounts of antiquity, either in its actions or learning; from whom we hear what *Ægypt* or *Greece* could inform him in, and whatever himself could discover by the strength of nature or industry. But however, that we may not mistake the Elogies of those ancients who call him the *Father of Arts and Sciences*, and be surprized to find so little of them (as they are now in perfection) in his works; we should know that this character is not to be understood at large, as if he had included the full and regular systems of every thing: He is to be considered professedly only in quality of a poet; this was his business, to which as whatever he knew was to be subservient, so he has not failed to introduce those strokes of knowledge from the whole circle of arts and sciences, which the subject demanded, either for necessity or ornament. This will appear on a fair view of him in each of these lights.

Before his time there were no Historians in *Greece*: He treated historically of past transactions, according as he could be informed by tradition, song, or whatever method there was of preserving their memory. For this we have the consent of antiquity; they have generally more appealed to his authority, and more insisted on it, than on the testimony of any other writer, when they treat of the rites, customs, and manners of the first times. They have generally believed

believed that the acts of *Tydeus* at *Thebes*, the second siege of that city, the settlement of *Rhodes*, the battle between the *Curetes* and the *Ætolians*, the succession of the Kings of *Mycenæ* by the sceptre of *Agamemnon*, the acts of the *Greeks* at *Tray*, and many other such accounts, are some of them wholly preserved by him, and the rest as faithfully related as by any historian. Nor perhaps was all of his invention which seems to be feigned, but rather frequently the obscure traces and remains of real persons and actions: which as § *Strabo* observes, when history was transmitted by oral tradition, might be mixed with fable before it came into the hands of the poet.

" This happened (says he) to *Herodotus*, the first
 " professed historian, who is as fabulous as *Homer*
 " when he refers to the common reports of countries;
 " and it is not to be imputed to either as a fault, but
 " as a necessity of the times." Nay, the very passages which cause us to tax them at this distance with being fabulous, might be occasioned by their diligence, and a fear of erring, if they too hastily rejected those reports which had passed current in the nations they described.

Before his time there was no such
Geography. thing as *Geography* in *Greece*. For
 this we have the suffrage of * *Strabo*,
 the best of Geographers, who approves the opinion
 of *Hipparchus* and other ancients, that *Homer* was
 the very author of it; and upon this account begins
 his treatise of the science itself, with an *encomium* on
 him.

§ *Strabo*, l. 1.

* *Strabo*, *ibid.* initio.

him. As to the general part of it, we find he had a knowledge of the Earth's being furrounded by the Ocean, because he makes the Sun and Stars both to rise and set in it; and that he knew the use of the Stars is plain from his making † *Ulysses* sail by the observation of them. But the instance ofteneft alledged upon this point is the † shield of *Achilles*; where he places the earth encompassed with the Sea, and gives the Stars the names they are yet known by, as the *Hyades*, *Pleiades* the *Bear* and *Orion*. By the three first of these he represents the constellations of the northern region; and in the last he gives a single representative of the southern, to which (as it were for a counter-balance) he adds a title of greatness, *θίρος* 'Οπίσσιος. Then he tells us that the *Bear*, or stars of the Arctick Circle, never disappear; as an observation which agrees with no other. And if to this we add (what *Eratoſthenes* thought he meant) that the five plates which were fastened on the shield, divided it by the lines where they met, into the five Zones, it will appear an original design of globes and spheres. In the particular parts of *Geography* his knowledge is entirely incontestable. *Strabo* refers to him upon all occasions, allowing that he knew the extremes of the Earth, some of which he names, and others he describes by signs, as the *fortunate Islands*. The same § author takes notice of his accounts concerning the several soils, plants, animals, and customs; as *Ægypt's* being fertile of medicinal herbs;

† *Odyſſ.* l. 5. v. 172.‡ *Iliad* 18. v. 482. &c.§ *Strabo* l. 1.

herbs; *Libya's* fruitfulness, where the ewes have horns, and yean thrice a year, &c. which are knowledges that make *Geography* more various and profitable. But what all have agreed to celebrate is his description of *Greece*, which had laws made for its preservation, and contests between governments decided by its authority: Which * *Strabo* acknowledges to have no epithet, or ornamental expression for any place, that is not drawn from its nature, quality or circumstances; and professes (after so long an interval) to deviate only where the country had undergone alterations, that cast the description into obscurity.

In his time *Rhetorick* was not known; that art took its rise out of poetry, which was not till then established. "The oratorical elocution (says † *Strabo*) is but an imitation of the poetical: this appeared first and was approved: They who imitated it took off the measures, but still preserved all the other parts of poetry in their writings: Such were *Cadmus* the *Milesian*, *Pherecydes*, and *Hecataeus*. Then their followers took something more from what was left, and at last elocution descended into the prose which is now amongst us." But if *Rhetorick* is owing to poetry, the obligation is still more due to *Homer*. He (as † *Quintilian* tells us) gave both the pattern and rise to all the parts of it. "Hic omnibus eloquentiæ partibus exemplum & ortum dedit: Hunc nemo in magnis rebus sublimitate, in parvis proprietate, superavit. Idem latus & prefus,

* *Strabo* l. 8.

† *Strabo* l. 1.

‡ *Quintil.* l. 10. cap. 1.

"*suus, jucundus & gravis, tum copiâ tum brevitate*
 "*admirabilis, nec poeticâ modo sed oratoriâ virtute,*
 "*eminentissimus.*" From him therefore they who
 settled the art found it proper to deduce the rules,
 which was easily done, when they had divided their
 observations into the kinds and the ornaments of elo-
 cution. For the kinds, the "ancients (says * *A.*
 "*Gell.*) settled them according to the three which
 "they observe in his principal speakers; his *Ulysses*. •
 "who is magnificent and flowing; his *Menelaus*,
 "who is short and close; and his *Nestor*, who is
 "moderate and dispassioned, and has a kind of mid-
 "dle eloquence participating of both the former."
 And for the ornaments, || *Aristotle*, the great master
 of the Rhetoricians, shows what deference is paid
 to *Homer*, when he orders the orator to lay down his
 heads, and express both the manners and affections
 of his work, with an imitation of that diction, and
 those figures, which the *divine Homer* excelled in.
 This is the constant language of those who succeeded
 him, and the opinion so far prevailed as to make §
Quintilian observe, that they who have written con-
 cerning the art of speaking, take from *Homer* most of
 the instances of their similitudes, amplifications, ex-
 amples, digressions, and arguments.

As to *natural Philosophy*, the age
 was not arrived in which it flourish- *Natural Phi-*
 ed; however some of its notions may *losophy.*
 be traced in him. As when he says
 that the fountains and rivers come from the ocean, he
 holds

* *Aulus Gell. l. 7. cap. 14.*

|| *Arist. Topic.*

§ *Quintil. l. 10.*

holds a *circulation of fluids* in the earth. But as this is a branch of learning which does not lie much in the way of a Poet who speaks of Heroes and Wars; the desire to prove his knowledge this way, has only run † *Politian* and others into trifling inferences; as when they would have it that he understood the secrets of Philosophy, because he mentions sun, rain, wind and thunder. The most probable way of making out his knowledge in this kind, is by supposing he couched it in allegories; and that he sometimes used the *names of the Gods* as his *Terms* for the *Elements*, as the *Chymists* now use them for *Metals*. But in applying this to him we must tread very carefully; not searching for allegory too industriously, where the passage may instruct by example; and endeavouring rather to find the fable an ornament to what is easily known, than to make it a cover to curious and unknown problems.

As for *Medicine*, something of it must have been understood in that age; though it was so far from perfection; that (according to * *Celsus*) what concerned *Diet* was invented long after by *Hippocrates*. The accidents of life make the search after remedies too indispensable a duty to be neglected at any time. Accordingly he § tells us, that the *Ægyptians*, who had many medicinal plants in their country, were all Physicians: and perhaps he might have learnt his own skill from his acquaintance with that nation. The state

‡ *Politian. Prefation Hom.*

* *Celsus, lib. 1.*

§ *Odyss. l. 4. v. 231.*

state of war which Greece had lived in, required a knowledge in the healing of wounds: and this might make him breed his princes, *Achilles*, *Patroclus*, *Podalirius*, and *Machaon*, to the science. What *Homer* thus attributes to others, he knew himself, and he has given us reason to believe, not slightly. For if we consider his insight into the structure of the human body, it is so nice, that he has been judged by some to have wounded his Heroes with too much science: or if we observe his cure of wounds, which are the accidents proper to an Epic Poem, we find him directing the surgical operation, sometimes infusing † lenitives, and at other times bitter powders, when the effusion of blood required astringent qualities.

For *Statuary*, it appears by the accounts of *Ægypt* and the *Palladium*, that there was enough of it early in the world for those images which were required in the worship of their Gods; but there are none mentioned as valuable in Greece so early, nor was the art established on its rules before *Homer*. He found it agreeable to the worship in use, and necessary for his machinery, that his Gods should be clothed in bodies: Wherefore he took care to give them such as carried the utmost perfection of the human form; and distinguished them from each other even in this superior beauty, with such marks as were agreeable to each of the Deities. " This, says †
 " *Strabo*, awakened the conceptions of the most eminent

† Il. 4. v. 218. and Il. 11. in fine.

† *Strabo*, l. 8.

"sent statuaries, while they strove to keep up the
 "grandeur of that idea, which *Homer* had impressed
 "upon their imagination; as we read of *Phidias*
 "concerning the statue of *Jupiter*." And because
 they copied their Gods from him in their best per-
 formances, his descriptions became the *characters*
 which were afterwards pursued in all works of a good
 taste. Hence came the common saying of the an-
 tients, "that either *Homer* was the only man who
 "had seen the forms of the Gods, or the only one
 "who had shown them to men;" a passage which *
Madam Dacier wrests to prove the truth of this theo-
 logy, different from *Strabo's* acceptance of it.

There are besides what we have spoken of, other
 sciences pretended to be found in him. Thus *Ma-*
crobius discovers that the chain with which † *Jupiter*
 says he could lift the world, is a *metaphysical notion*,
 that means a connection of all things from the supreme
 being to the meanest part of the creation. Others,
 to prove him skilful in *judicial astronomy*, bring a
 quotation concerning the births of † *Hector* and *Poly-*
damas on the same night; who were nevertheless of
 different qualifications, one excelling in war, and the
 other in eloquence. Others again will have him to
 be versed in *Magick*, from his stories concerning
Circe. These and many of the like nature are inter-
 pretations strained or trifling, such as *Homer* does not
 want for a proof of his learning, and by which we
 contribute

* *Dacier, Preface to Homer.*

† Il. 8. v. 19. *Vid. Macrobi. de somn. Scip. l. 1. c. 14.*

‡ Il. 18. v. 252.

contribute nothing to raise his character, while we sacrifice our judgment to him in the eyes of others.

It is sufficient to have gone thus far, in shewing he was the father of learning, a soul capable of ranging over the whole creation with an intellectual view, shining alone in an age of obscurity, and shining beyond those who have had the advantage of more learned ages; leaving behind him a work not only adorned with all the knowledge of his own time, but in which he has before-hand broken up the fountains of several sciences which were brought nearer to perfection by posterity: A work which shall always stand at the top of the sublime character, to be gazed at by readers with an admiration of its perfection, and by writers with a despair that it should ever be emulated with success.

A N
E S S A Y
O N
H O M E R's
B A T T L E S.

PERHAPS it may be necessary, to premise some observations upon *Homer's* Battles in general. I shall first endeavour to shew the *Conduct* of the Poet herein, and next collect some *Antiquities*, that tend to a more distinct understanding of those descriptions which make so large a part of the Poem.

One may very well apply to *Xomer* himself, what he says of his Heroes at the end of the fourth book, that whosoever should be guided thro' his battles by *Minerva*, and pointed to every scene of them, would
see.

see nothing through the whole but subjects of surprise and applause. When the reader reflects that no less than the compass of twelve books is taken up in these, he will have reason to wonder by what methods our author could prevent descriptions of such a length from being tedious. It is not enough to say, that tho' the subject itself be the same, the actions are always different; that we have now distinct combats, now promiscuous fights, now single duels, now general engagements; or that the scenes are perpetually vary'd; we are now in the fields, now at the fortification of the *Greeks*, now at the ships, now at the gates of *Troy*, now at the river *Scamander*: But we must look farther into the art of the poet to find the reasons of this astonishing variety.

We may first observe that diversity in the deaths of his warriors, which he has supply'd by the vastest fertility of invention. These he distinguishes several ways: Sometimes by the *characters* of the Men, their age, office, profession, nation, family, &c. One is a blooming youth, whose father dissuaded him from the war; one is a Priest, whose piety could not save him; one is a sportsman, whom *Diana* taught in vain; one is the native of a far-distant country, who is never to return; one is descended from a noble line, which ends in his death; one is made remarkable by his boasting; another by his beseeching; and another, who is distinguished no way else, is marked by his *Habit* and the singularity of his armour.

Sometimes he varies these deaths by the several postures in which his Heroes are represented either fighting or falling. Some of these are so exceedingly exact,

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Sometimes he varies these deaths by the several *postures* in which his Heroes are represented either fighting or falling. Some of these are so exceedingly exact,

ast, that one may guess from the very position of the combatant, whereabouts the wound will light: Others so very *peculiar* and *uncommon*, that they could only be the effect of an imagination which had searched thro' all the ideas of nature. Such is that picture of *Mydon* in the fifth book, whose arm being numbed by a blow on the elbow, drops the reins that trail on the ground; and then being suddenly struck on the temples, falls headlong from the chariot in a soft and deep place, where he sinks up to the shoulders in the sands, and continues a while fixed by the weight of his armour, with his legs quivering in the air, 'till he is trampled down by his horses.

Another cause of this variety is the difference of the wounds that are given in the *Iliad*: They are by no means like the wounds described by most other poets, which are commonly made in the self-same obvious places: The heart and head serve for all those in general who understand no anatomy, and sometimes for variety they kill men by wounds that are no where mortal but in their poems. As the whole human body is the subject of these, so nothing is more necessary to him who would describe them well, than a thorough knowledge of its structure, even tho' the poet is not professedly to write of them as an anatomist; in the same manner as an exact skill in anatomy is necessary to those Painters that would excel in drawing the naked, tho' they are not to make every muscle as visible as in a book of chirurgery. It appears from so many passages in *Homer* that he was perfectly master of this science, that it would be needless to cite any in particular. One may only observe, that if we thoroughly

thoroughly examine all the wounds he had described, tho' so infinite in number, and so many ways diversified, we shall hardly find one which will contradict this observation.

I must just add a remark, that the various periphrases, and circumlocutions by which *Homer* expresses the single act of *dying*, have supplied *Virgil* and the succeeding Poets with all their manners of phrasing it. Indeed he repeats the same verse on that occasion more often than they—τὸν δὲ σκότος ὅσος ἐκάλυψε—Ἀράβησε δὲ τευχὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ, &c. But tho' it must be owned he had more frequent occasions for a line of this kind than any Poet, as no other has described half so many deaths, yet one cannot ascribe this to any sterility of expression, but to the genius of his times, that delighted in those reiterated verses. We find repetitions of the same sort affected by the sacred writers, such as *He was gathered to his people* : *He slept with his fathers* ; and the like. And upon the whole they have a certain antiquated harmony, not unlike the burthen of a song, which the ear is willing to suffer, and as it were rests upon.

As the perpetual horror of combats, and a succession of images of death, could not but keep the imagination very much on the stretch ; *Homer* has been careful to contrive such reliefs and pauses, as might divert the mind to some other scene, without losing sight of his principal object. His *comparisons* are the more frequent on this account ; for a *comparison* serves this end the most effectually of any thing, as it is at once correspondent to, and differing from, the subject. Those criticks who fancy that the use of
comparisons

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comparisons distracts the attention, and draws it from the first image which should most employ it, (as that we lose the idea of the *battle* itself, while we are led by a simile to that of a *deluge* or a *storm* :) Those, I say, may as well imagine we lose the thought of the sun, when we see his reflection in the water; where he appears more distinctly, and is contemplated more at ease, than if we gazed directly at his beams. For it is with the eye of the imagination as it is with our corporeal eye, it must sometimes be taken off from the object in order to see it the better. The same criticks that are displeased to have their fancy distracted (as they call it) are yet of inconsistent with themselves, as to object to *Homer* that his similes are too much alike, and are too often derived from the same animal. But is it not more reasonable (according to their own notion) to compare the same man always to the same animal, than to see him sometimes a sun, sometimes a tree, and sometimes a river? Tho' *Homer* speaks of the same creature, he so diversifies the circumstances and accidents of the comparisons, that they always appear quite different. And to say truth, it is not so much the animal or the thing, as the action or posture of them, that employs our imagination: Two different animals in the same action are more like to each other, than one and the same animal is to himself, in two different actions. And those who in reading *Homer* are shocked that 'tis always a *lion*, may as well be angry that 'tis always a *man*.

What may seem more exceptionable, is his inserting the same comparisons in the same words at length upon different occasions, by which management he makes

makes one single image afford many ornaments to several parts of the Poem. But may not one say *Homer* is in this like a skilful improver, who places a beautiful statue in a well disposed garden so as to answer several vistas, and by that artifice one single figure seems multiplied into as many objects as there are openings from whence it may be viewed?

What farther relieves and softens these descriptions of battles, is the Poet's wonderful art of introducing many pathetick circumstances about the deaths of the Heroes; which raises a different movement in the mind from what those images naturally inspire, I mean compassion and pity; when he causes us to look back upon the lost riches, possessions, and hopes of those who die: When he transports us to their native countries and paternal seats, to see the griefs of their aged fathers, the despair and tears of their widows, or the abandoned conditions of their orphans. Thus when *Protesilaus* falls, we are made to reflect on the lofty Palaces he left half finished; when the sons of *Phenops* are killed, we behold the mortifying distress of their wealthy father, who saw his estate divided before his eyes, and taken in trust for strangers. When *Axylus* dies, we are taught to compassionate the hard fate of that generous and hospitable man, whose house was the house of all men, and who deserved that glorious elogy of *The friend of human-kind*.

It is worth taking notice too what use *Homer* every where makes of each little accident or circumstance that can naturally happen in a battle, thereby to cast a variety over his action; as well as of every turn of

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mind or emotion a Hero can possibly feel, such as resentment, revenge, concern, confusion, &c. The former of these makes his work resemble a large history-piece, where even the less important figures and actions have yet some convenient place or corner to be shewn in; and the latter gives it all the advantages of tragedy, in those various turns of passion that animate the speeches of his Heroes, and render his whole Poem the most *Dramatick* of any Epick whatsoever.

It must also be observed, that the constant *machines* of the *Gods* conduce very greatly to vary these long battles, by a continual change of the scene from earth to heaven. *Homer* perceived them too necessary for this purpose to abstain from the use of them even after *Jupiter* had enjoined the Deities not to act on either side. It is remarkable how many methods he has found to draw them into every book; where if they dare not assist the warriors, at least they are very helpful to the poet.

But there is nothing that more contributes to the variety, surprize, and *Eclat* of *Homer's* battles, or is more perfectly admirable in itself, than that artful manner of taking measure, or (as one may say) *gaging* his Heroes by each other, and thereby elevating the character of one person, by the opposition of it to that of some other whom he is made to excel. So that he many times describes one, only to image another, and raises one only to raise another. I cannot better exemplify this remark, than by giving an instance in the character of *Diomed* that lies before me. Let us observe by what a scale of oppositions he elevates

vates this Hero, in the fifth book, first to excel all human valour, and after to rival the Gods themselves. He distinguishes him first from the *Grecian* Captains in general, each of whom he represents conquering a single *Trojan*, while *Diomed* constantly encounters two at once; and while they are engaged each in his distinct post, he only is drawn fighting in every quarter, and slaughtering on every side. Next he opposes him to *Pandarus*, next to *Æneas*, and then to *Hector*. So of the Gods, he shews him first against *Venus*, then *Apollo*, then *Mars*, and lastly in the eighth book against *Jupiter* himself in the midst of his thunders. The same conduct is observable more or less in regard to every personage of his work.

This subordination of the Heroes is one of the causes that make each of his battles rise above the other in greatness, terror and importance, to the end of the Poem. If *Diomed* has performed all these wonders in the first combat, it is but to raise *Hector*, at whose appearance he begins to fear. If in the next battle *Hector* triumphs not only over *Diomed*, but over *Ajax* and *Patroclus*, sets fire to the fleet, wins the armour of *Achilles*, and singly eclipses all the Heroes; in the midst of all his glory, *Achilles* appears, *Hector* flies, and is slain.

The manner in which his Gods are made to act, no less advances the gradation we are speaking of. In the first battles they are seen only in short and separate excursions: *Venus* assists *Paris*, *Minerva*, *Diomed*, and *Mars* *Hector*. In the next, a clear stage is left for *Jupiter*, to display his omnipotence, and turn the fate of armies alone. In the last, all the powers of

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heaven are engaged and banded into regular parties, Gods encountering Gods, *Jove* encouraging them with his thunders, *Neptune* raising his tempests, heaven flaming, earth trembling, and *Pluto* himself starting from the throne of hell.

II. I am now to take notice of some customs of *antiquity* relating to the *arms* and *art military* of those times, which are proper to be known, in order to form a right notion of our Author's descriptions of war.

That *Homer* copied the manners and customs of the age he writ of, rather than of that he lived in, has been observed in some instances. As that he no where represents *cavalry* or *trumpets* to have been used in the *Trojan* wars, tho' they apparently were in his own time. It is not therefore impossible but there may be found in his works some deficiencies in the art of war, which are not to be imputed to his ignorance, but to his judgment.

Horses had not been brought into *Greece* long before the siege of *Troy*. They were originally Eastern animals, and if we find at that very period so great a number of them reckoned up in the wars of the *Israelites*, it is the less a wonder, considering they came from *Asia*. The practice of riding them was so little known in *Greece* a few years before, that they looked upon the *Centaur*s who first used it, as monsters compounded of men and horses. *Nestor* in the first *Iliad* says he had seen these *Centaur*s in his youth, and *Polypetes* in the second is said to have been born on the day that his father expelled them from *Pelion* to the deserts of *Æthica*. They had no
other

other use of horses than to draw their chariots in battle, so that whenever *Homer* speaks of *fighting from a horse*, or *taming an horse*, or the like, it is constantly to be understood of fighting from a chariot, or taming horses to that service. This (as we have said) was a piece of decorum in the Poet; for in his own time they were arrived to such a perfection in horsemanship, that in the fifteenth *Iliad*, v. 822, we have a *smile* taken from an extraordinary feat of activity, where one man manages four horses at once, and leaps from the back of one to another at full speed.

If we consider in what high esteem among warriors these noble animals must have been at their first coming into *Greece*, we shall the less wonder at the frequent occasions *Homer* has taken to describe and celebrate them. It is not so strange to find them set almost upon a level with men, at the time when a *horse* in the prizes was of equal value with a *captive*.

The *chariots* were in all probability very low. For we frequently find in the *Iliad*, that a person who stands erect on a chariot is killed (and sometimes by a stroke on the head) by a foot-soldier with a sword. This may farther appear from the ease and readiness with which they alight or mount on every occasion, to facilitate which, the chariots were made open behind. That the wheels were but small, may be guessed from a custom they had of taking them off and setting them on, as they were laid by, or made use of. *Hebe* in the fifth book puts on the wheels of *Juno's* chariot when she calls for it in haste: And it seems to be with allusion to the same practice that it is said in *Exodus*, c. 14, *The Lord took off their chariot-wheels*,

riot-wheels, so that they drove them heavily. The sides were also low; for whoever is killed in his chariot throughout the poem, constantly falls to the ground, as having nothing to support him. That the whole machine was very small and light is evident from a passage in the tenth *Iliad*, where *Diomed* debates whether he shall draw the chariot of *Rhesus* out of the way, or carry it on his shoulders to a place of safety. All the particulars agree with the representations of the chariots on the most ancient *Greek* coins; where the tops of them reached not so high as the backs of the horses, the wheels are yet lower, and the heroes who stand in them are seen from the knee upwards*. This may serve to shew those Criticks are under a mistake, who blame *Homer* for making his warriors sometimes retire behind their chariots, as if it were a piece of cowardice: which was as little disgraceful then, as it is now to alight from one's horse in a battle, on any necessary emergency.

There were generally two persons in one chariot, one of whom was wholly employed in guiding the horses. They used indifferently two, three, or four horses; from whence it happens, that sometimes when a horse is killed, the hero continues the fight with two or more that remain; and at other times a warrior retreats upon the loss of one; not that he has less courage than the other, but that he has fewer horses.

Their *swords* were all broad cutting swords, for we find they never stab but with their spears.
The

* See the collection of Goltzius, &c.

The *spears* were used two ways, either to push with, or to cast from them, like the massive javelins. It seems surprizing, that a man should throw a dart or spear with such force, as to pierce thro' both sides of the armour and the body (as is often described in *Homer*.) For if the strength of the men was gigantic, the armour must have been strong in proportion. Some solution might be given for this, if we imagined the armour was generally brass, and the weapons pointed with iron; and if we could fancy that *Homer* called the spears and swords *brazen*, in the same manner that he calls the reins of a bridle *ivory*, only from the ornaments about them. But there are passages where the point of the spear is expressly said to be of brass, as in the description of that of *Hector* in *Iliad* 6. *Pausanias*, *Laconicus*, takes it for granted, that the arms, as well offensive as defensive, were brass. He says the spear of *Achilles* was kept at his time in the temple of *Minerva*, the top and point of which were of brass; and the sword of *Meriones*, in that of *Æsculapius* among the *Nicomediæns*, was entirely of the same metal. But be that as it will, there are examples even at this day of such a prodigious force in casting darts, as almost exceeds credibility. The *Turks* and *Arabs* will pierce thro' thick planks with darts of hardened wood; which can only be attributed to their being bred (as the ancients were) to that exercise, and to the strength and agility acquired by a constant practice of it.

We may ascribe to the same cause their power of casting *stones* of a vast weight, which appears a common practice in these battles. Those are in a great error,

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error, who imagine this to be only a fictitious embellishment of the Poet, which was one of the exercises of war among the ancient *Greeks* and *Oriental*s.

* *St. Jerome* tells us, it was an old custom in *Palæstine*, and in use in his own time, to have round stones of a great weight kept in the castles and villages, for the youth to try their strength with. And the custom is yet extant in some parts of *Scotland*, where stones for the same purpose are laid at the gates of great houses, which they call *putting stones*.

Another consideration which will account for many things that may seem uncouth in *Homer*, is the reflection that before the use of *fire-arms* there was infinitely more scope for *personal valour* than in the modern battles. Now whensoever the personal strength of the combatants happened to be unequal, the declining a single combat could not be so dishonourable as it is in this age, when the arms we make use of put all men on a level. For a soldier of far inferior strength may manage a rapier or fire-arms so expertly, as to be an overmatch for his adversary. This may appear a sufficient excuse for what in the modern construction might seem cowardice in *Homer's* heroes, when they avoid engaging with others, whose bodily strength exceeds their own. The maxims of
valour

* *Mos est in urbibus Palæstinæ, & usque hodie per omnem Judæam vetus consuetudo servatur, ut in viculis, oppidis, & castellis rotundi ponantur lapides gravissimi ponderis, ad quos juvenes exercere se solent, & eos pro varietate virium sublevare, alii ad genua, alii ad umbilicum, alii ad humeros, ad caput, nonnulli super verticem, rectis junctisque manibus, magnitudinem virium demonstrantes, pondus attollunt.*

valour in all times were founded upon reason, and the cowardice ought rather in this case to be imputed to him who braved his inferior. There was also more leisure in their battles before the knowledge of fire arms; and this in a good degree accounts for those *harangues* his heroes make to each other in the time of combat.

There was another practice frequently used by these ancient warriors, which was to spoil an enemy of his arms after they had slain him; and this custom we see them frequently pursuing with such eagerness, as if they looked on their victory not compleat 'till this point was gained. Some modern Criticks have accused them of avarice on account of this practice, which might probably arise from the great value and scarceness of armour in that early time and infancy of war. It afterwards became a point of honour, like gaining a standard from the enemy. *Moses* and *David* speak of the pleasure of obtaining many spoils. They preserved them as monuments of victory, and even religion at last became interested herein, when these spoils were consecrated in the temples of the tutelar Deities of the conqueror.

The reader may easily see, I set down these heads just as they may occur to my memory, and only as hints to farther observations; which any one who is conversant in *Homer* cannot fail to make, if he will but think a little in the same track.

It is no part of my design to enquire what progress had been made in the *art of war* at this early period: The bare perusal of the *Iliad* will best inform us of it. But what I think tends more immediately to
the

the better comprehension of these descriptions, is to give a short view of the *scene* of war, the *situation* of *Troy*, and those places which *Homer* mentions, with the proper *field* of each battle: Putting together, for this purpose, those passages in my Author that give any light to this matter.

The ancient city of *Troy* stood at a greater distance from the sea, than those ruins which have since been shewn for it. This may be gathered from *Iliad* 5. v. (of the original) 791. where it is said, that the *Trojans* never durst fall out of the *walls* of their town, 'till the retirement of *Achilles*; but afterwards combated the *Grecians* at their very ships, *far from the city*. For had *Troy* stood (as *Strabo* observes) so nigh the *sea-shore*, it had been madness in the *Greeks* not to have built any fortification before their fleet till the tenth year of the siege, when the enemy was so near them: And on the other hand, it had been cowardice in the *Trojans* not to have attempted any thing all that time, against an army that lay unfortified and unintrenched. Besides the intermediate space had been too small to afford a field for so many various adventures and actions of war. The places about *Troy* particularly mentioned by *Homer* lie in this order.

1. The *Scaean gate*: This opened to the field of battle, and was that thro' which the *Trojans* made their excursions. Close to this stood the *beech-tree* sacred to *Jupiter*, which *Homer* generally mentions with it.

2. The *hill of wild fig-trees*. It joined to the walls of *Troy*, on one side, and extended to the high-way on the other. The first appears from what *Andromache*

mache says in *Il.* 6. v. 432. that the walls were in danger of being scaled from this hill; and the last from *Il.* 22. v. 145. &c.

3. The two springs of *Scamander*. These were a little higher on the same high-way. (*Ibid.*)

4. *Calicolone*, the name of a pleasant hill that lay near the river *Simois*, on the other side of the town. *Il.* 20. v. 53.

5. *Bateia*, or the sepulchre of *Myrinne*, stood a little before the city in the plain. *Il.* 2. v. 318. of the *Catal.*

6. The monument of *Ilus*: Near the middle of the plain. *Iliad.* 11. v. 166.

7. The tomb of *Æfyetes*, commanded the prospect of the fleet, and that part of the sea-coast. *Iliad.* 2. v. 301. of the catalogue.

It seems, by the 465th verse of the second *Iliad*, that the Grecian army was drawn up under the several leaders by the banks of *Scamander* on that side toward the ships: In the mean time that of *Troy*, and the auxiliaries, was rang'd in order at *Myrinne's* sepulchre. *Ib.* v. 320. of the *catal.* The place of the first battle, where *Diomed* performs his exploits, was near the joining of *Simois* and *Scamander*; for *Juno* and *Pallas* coming to him, alight at the confluence of those rivers. *Iliad.* 5. v. 776. and that the *Greeks* had not yet passed the stream, but fought on that side next the fleet, appears from v. 791. of the same book, where *Juno* says the *Trojans* now brave them at their very ships. But in the beginning of the sixth book, the place of battle is specified to be between the rivers of *Simois* and *Scamander*; so that

that the *Greeks* (tho' *Homer* does not particularize when, or in what manner) had then crossed the stream toward *Troy*.

The engagement in the eighth book is evidently close to the *Grecian* fortification on the shore. That night *Hector* lay at *Ilus's* tomb in the field, as *Dolon* tells us, *Lib.* 10. v. 415. And in the eleventh book the battle is chiefly about *Ilus's* tomb.

In the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth, about the fortification of the *Greeks*, and in the fifteenth at the *ships*.

In the sixteenth, the *Trojans* being repulsed by *Patroclus*, they engage between the fleet, the river, and the *Grecian* wall: See v. 396. *Patroclus* still advancing, they fight at the gates of *Troy*, v. 700. In the seventeenth, the fight about the body of *Patroclus* is under the *Trojan* wall, v. 403. His body being carried off, *Hector* and *Aeneas* pursue the *Greeks* to the fortification, v. 760. And in the eighteenth, upon *Achilles's* appearing, they retire and encamp without the fortification.

In the twentieth, the fight is still on that side next the sea; for the *Trojans* being pursued by *Achilles*, pass over the *Scamander* as they run toward *Troy*: See the beginning of book 21. The following battles are either in the river itself, or between that and the city, under whose walls *Hector* is killed in the twenty-second book, which puts an end to the battles of the *Iliad*.

N. B. The verses above are cited according to the number of lines in the Greek.

T H E



THE
FIRST BOOK
OF THE
I L I A D.



The ARGUMENT.

The Contention of *Achilles* and *Agamemnon*.

*I*N the war of Troy, the Greeks having sacked some of the neighbouring towns, and taken from thence two beautiful captives, Chryseis and Bryseis, allotted the first to Agamemnon, and the last to Achilles. Chryses, the father of Chryseis, and priest of Apollo, comes to the Grecian camp to ransom her; with which the action of the poem opens, in the tenth year of the siege. The priest being refused and insolently dismissed by Agamemnon, intreats for vengeance from his God, who inflicts a pestilence on the Greeks. Achilles calls a council, and encourages Chalcas to declare the cause of it, who attributes it to the refusal of Chryseis. The King being obliged to send back his captive, enters into a furious contest with Achilles, which Nestor pacifies; however, as he had the absolute command of the army, he seizes on Bryseis in revenge. Achilles in discontent withdraws himself and his forces from the rest of the Greeks; and complaining to Thetis, she supplicates Jupiter to render them sensible of the wrong done to her son, by giving victory to the Trojans. Jupiter granting her suit, incenses Juno, between whom the debate runs high, 'till they are reconciled by the address of Vulcan.

The time of two and twenty days is taken up in this book; nine during the plague, one in the council and quarrel of the Princes, and twelve for Jupiter's stay with the Æthiopians, at whose return Thetis prefers her petition. The scene lies in the Grecian camp, then changes to Chrysa, and lastly to Olympus.

T H E

T H E
F I R S T B O O K
O F T H E
I L I A D.

*A*CHILLES' Wrath, to *Greece* the direful
spring

Of Woes unnumber'd, heav'nly Goddess, sing !
That Wrath which hurl'd to *Pluto's* gloomy reign
The souls of mighty chiefs untimely slain :

Whose

N O T E S.

It is something strange that of all the commentators upon *Homer*, there is hardly one whose principal design is to illustrate the poetical beauties of the author. They are voluminous in explaining those sciences which he made but subservient to his Poetry, and sparing only upon that art which constitutes his character. This has been occasioned by the ostentation of men who had more reading than taste, and were fonder of shewing their variety of learning in all kinds than their single understanding in Poetry. Hence it comes to pass that their remarks are rather philosophical, historical, geographical, allegorical, or in short rather any thing than critical and poetical. Even the Grammarians, tho' their whole business and use be only to render the words of an author intelligible, are strangely touched with the pride of doing

Whose limbs unbury'd on the naked shore,
Devouring dogs and hungry vultures tore :

5

Since

doing something more than they ought. The grand ambition of one sort of scholars is to encrease the number of *various lectures*; which they have done to such a degree of obscure diligence, that (as Sir *H. Savil* observed) we now begin to value the first editions of books as most correct, because they have been least corrected. The prevailing passion of others is to discover *new meanings*, in an author, whom they will cause to appear mysterious, purely for the vanity of being thought to unravel him. These account it a disgrace to be of the opinion of those that preceded them; and it is generally the fate of such people who will never say what was said before, to say what will never be said after them. If they can but find a word, that has once been strained by some dark writer, to signify any thing different from its usual acceptation; it is frequent with them to apply it constantly to that uncommon meaning, whenever they meet it in a clear writer: For reading is so much dearer to them than sense, that they will discard it at any time to make way for a criticism. In other places where they cannot contest the truth of the common interpretation, they get themselves room for dissertation by imaginary *Amphibologies*, which they will have to be designed by the author. This disposition of finding out different significations in one thing, may be the effect of either too much, or too little wit: For men of a right understanding generally see at once all that an author can reasonably mean, but others are apt to fancy two meanings for want of knowing one. Not to add, that there is a vast deal of difference between the learning of a Critick, and the puzzling of a Grammarian.

It is no easy task to make something out of a hundred pedants that is not pedantical; yet this he must do, who would give a tolerable abstract of the former expositors of *Homer*. The commentaries of *Eustathius*, are indeed an immense treasury of *Greek* learning; but as he seems to have amassed the substance of whatever others had written upon the author; so he is not free from some of the foregoing censures. There are those who have said, that a judicious abstract of him alone, might furnish out sufficient illustrations upon *Homer*. It was resolved to take the trouble of reading through that voluminous work, and the reader may be assured, those remarks that any way concern the Poetry or art of the Poet, are much fewer than is imagined. The greater
part

Since great *Achilles* and *Atrides* strove,
Such was the sov'reign doom, and such the will of
Jove!

Declare,

part of these is already plundered by succeeding commentators, who have very little but what they owe to him: and I am obliged to say even of *Madam Dacier*, that she is either more beholden to him than she has confessed, or has read him less than she is willing to own. She has made a farther attempt than her predecessors to discover the beauties of the Poet; tho' we have often only her general praises, and exclamations instead of reasons. But her remarks altogether are the most judicious collection extant of the scattered observations of the ancients and moderns, as her preface is excellent, and her translation equally careful and elegant.

The chief design of the following notes is to comment upon *Homer* as a Poet; whatever in them is extracted from others is constantly owned; the remarks of the ancients are generally set at length, and the places cited: all those of *Eustathius* are collected which fall under this scheme: many, which were not acknowledged by other commentators, are restored to the true owner; and the same justice is shown to those who refused it to others.

THE plan of this poem is formed upon anger and its ill effects, the plan of *Virgil's* upon pious resignation and its rewards: and thus every passion or virtue may be the foundation of the scheme of an Epic Poem. This distinction between two authors who have been so successful, seemed necessary to be taken notice of, that they who would imitate either may not stumble at the very entrance, or so curb their imaginations, as to deprive us of noble morals told in a new variety of accidents. Imitation does not hinder invention: We may observe the rules of nature, and write in the spirit of those who have best hit upon them; without taking the same track, beginning in the same manner, and following the main of their story almost step by step; as most of the modern writers of Epic Poetry have done after one of these great Poets.

V. 1.] *Quintilian* has told us, that from the beginning of *Homer's* two poems the rules of all *Exordiums* were derived. "In paucissimis versibus utriusque operis ingressu legem Proœmiorum non dico servavit, sed constituit." Yet *Rapin* has been very free with this invocation, in his *Comparison between Homer and Virgil*; which is by no means the most judicious of his works.

Declare, O Muse! in what ill-fated hour
Sprung the fierce strife, from what offended pow'r? 10

Latona's

works. He cavils first at the Poet's insisting so much upon the effects of *Achilles's* anger, That it was "the cause of
" the woes of the *Greek*," That it "sent so many Heroes to
" the shades," that "their bodies were left a prey to birds
" and beasts;" the first of which he thinks had been sufficient. One may answer, that the woes of *Greece* might consist in several other things than in the death of her Heroes, which was therefore needful to be specified: As to the bodies, he might have reflected how great a curse the want of burial was accounted by the ancients, and how prejudicial it was esteemed even to the souls of the deceased: We have a most particular example of the strength of this opinion from the conduct of *Sophocles* in his *Ajax*; who thought this very point sufficient to make the distress of the last act of that tragedy after the death of his Hero, purely to satisfy the audience that he obtained the rites of sepulture. Next he objects it as preposterous in *Homer* to desire the Muse to tell him the whole story, and at the same time to inform her solemnly in his own person that 'twas the will of *Jove* which brought it about. But is a Poet then to be imagined intirely ignorant of his subject, tho' he invokes the Muse to relate the particulars? May not *Homer* be allowed the knowledge of so plain a truth, as that the will of God is fulfilled in all things? Nor does his manner of saying this infer that he informs the Muse of it, but only corresponds with the usual way of desiring information from another concerning any thing, and at the same time mentioning that little we know of it in general. What is there more in his passage? "Sing, O Goddess, that wrath of *Achilles*,
" which proved so pernicious to the *Greeks*: We only know
" the effects of it, that it sent innumerable brave men to the
" shades, and that it was *Jove's* will it should be so. But tell
" me, O Muse, what was the source of this destructive an-
" ger?" I can't apprehend what *Rapin* means by saying, it is hard to know where this invocation ends, and that it is confounded with the narration, which so manifestly begins at *Ἀντὶς καὶ Διὸς ὕδης*. But upon the whole, methinks the French Criticks play double with us, when they sometimes represent the rules of Poetry to be formed upon the practice of *Homer*, and at other times arraign their master, as if he transgressed them. *Horace* has said the Exordium of an Epic Poem

*Latona's son a dire contagion spread,
And heap'd the camp with mountains of the dead ;*
The

Poem ought to be plain and modest, and instances *Homer's* as such ; and *Rapin* from this very rule will be trying *Homer* and judging it otherwise (for he criticises also upon the beginning of the *Odyssey*.) But for a full answer we may bring the words of *Quintilian* (whom *Rapin* himself allows to be the best of Criticks) concerning these propositions and invocations of our author “ *Benevolum auditorem invocatione dearum quas præsidere vatibus creditum est, intentum, propositâ rerum magnitudine, & docilem summâ celeriter comprehensâ, facit.*

V. 1.] Μῆνιν ἄειδε θεὰ Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος.

Plutarch observes there is a defect in the measure of this first line (I suppose he means in the *Eta's* of the Patronymick.) This he thinks, the fiery vein of *Homer* making haste to his subject, past over with a bold neglect, being conscious of his own power and perfection in the greater parts ; as some (says he) who make virtue their sole aim, pass by censure in smaller matters. But perhaps we may find no occasion to suppose this a neglect in him, if we consider that the word *Pelides*, had he made use of it without so many alterations as he has put it to in Πηληϊάδεω, would still have been true to the rules of measure. Make but a diphthong of the second *Eta* and the *Iota*, instead of their being two syllables (perhaps by the fault of transcribers) and the objection is gone. Or perhaps it might be designed, that the verse in which he professes to sing of violent anger should run off in the rapidity of Dactyles. This art he is allowed to have used in other places, and *Virgil* has been particularly celebrated for it.

V. 8. *Will of Jove.* *Plutarch* in his treatise of reading Poets, interprets Διὸς in this place to signify *Fate*, not imagining it consistent with the goodness of the supreme being, or *Jupiter*, to contrive or practise any evil against men. *Eusebius* makes [*Will*] here to refer to the promise which *Jupiter* gave to *Thetis*, that he would honour her son by siding with *Troy* while he should be absent. But to reconcile these two opinions, perhaps the meaning may be, that when *Fate* had decreed the destruction of *Troy*, *Jupiter* having the power of incidents to bring it to pass, fulfilled that decree by providing means for it. So that the words may thus specify the time of action, from the beginning of the poem, in which

The king of Men his rev'rend Priest defy'd,
And, for the King's offence, the people dy'd.

For

which those incidents worked, 'till the promise to *Thetis* was fulfilled, and the destruction of *Troy* ascertained to the *Greeks* by the death of *Hector*. However it is certain that this Poet was not an absolute *Fatalist*, but still supposed the power of *Jove* superior: For in the sixteenth *Iliad* we see him designing to save *Sarpedon*, tho' the Fates had decreed his death, if *Juno* had not interposed. Neither does he exclude free-will in men; for as he attributes the destruction of the *Heroes* to the will of *Jove* in the beginning of the *Iliad*, so he attributes the destruction of *Ulysses*'s friends to their own folly in the beginning of the *Odyssey*.

Αὐτῶν γὰρ σφετέρησιν ἀτασθαλίῃσιν ὄλοντο.

V. 9. *Declare, O Muse.*] It may be questioned whether the first period ends Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βελή, and the interrogation to the *Muse* begins with Εἰς ἣ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα—Or whether the period does not end till the words, διὸς Ἀχιλλεύς, with only a single interrogation at Γίγται τ' ἄρ' σφῶν θεῶν;—? I should be inclined to favour the former, and think it a double interrogative, as *Milton* seems to have done in his imitation of this place at the beginning of *Paradise Lost*.

—Say first what cause.

Mov'd our grand parents? &c. And just after,

Who first seduc'd them to that foul revolt?

Besides that I think the proposition concludes more nobly with the sentence, *Such was the will of Jove*. But the latter being followed by most editions, and by all the translations I have seen in any language, the general acceptation is here complied with, only transposing the line to keep the sentence last. And the next verses are so turned as to include the double interrogation, and at the same time to do justice to another interpretation of the words, Εἰς ἣ δὴ τὰ, *Ex quo tempore*; which marks the date of the quarrel from whence the poem takes its rise. *Chapman* would have *Ex quo* understood of *Jupiter*, from whom the debate was suggested; but this clashes with the line immediately following, where he asks, What God inspired the contention? and answers, it was *Apollo*.

V. 11.

For *Chryses* fought with costly gifts to gain 15
His captive daughter from the victor's chain.
Suppliant the venerable father stands,
Apollo's awful ensigns grace his hands :
By these he begs ; and lowly bending down,
Extends the sceptre and the laurel crown. 20
He su'd to all, but chief implor'd for grace
The Brother-Kings, of *Atreus'* royal race.

Ye Kings and warriors ! may your vows be crown'd,
And *Troy's* proud walls lie level with the ground.

May

V. 11. *Latona's* [i.e.] Here the author, who first invoked the Muse as the Goddess of Memory, vanishes from the reader's view, and leaves her to relate the whole affair through the poem, whose presence from this time diffuses an air of majesty over the relation. And lest this should be lost to our thoughts in the continuation of the story, he sometimes refreshes them with a new invocation at proper intervals. *Eustathius*.

V. 20. *The sceptre and the laurel crown.*] There is something exceeding venerable in this appearance of the priest. He comes with the ensigns of the God he belonged to ; the laurel crown, now carried in his hand to shew he was a suppliant ; and a golden sceptre, which the ancients gave in particular to *Apollo*, as they did a silver one to the moon, and other sorts to other planets. *Eustathius*.

V. 23. *Ye Kings and warriors!*— The art of this speech is remarkable. *Chryses* considers the constitution of the *Greeks* before *Troy*, as made up of troops partly from Kingdoms and partly from Democracies : Wherefore he begins with a distinction which comprehends all. After this, as *Apollo's* priest, he prays that they may obtain the two blessings they had most in view, the conquest of *Troy*, and a safe return. Then as he names his petition, he offers an extraordinary ransom ; and concludes with bidding them fear the God if they refuse it ; like one who from his office seems to foresee their misery and exhorts them to shun it. Thus he endeavours to work by the art of a general application, by religion, by interest, and the insinuation of danger. This is the substance of what *Eustathius* remarks on this place ; and in pursuance to his last observation, the epithet *Avenging* is added

May *Jove* restore you, when your toils are o'er, 25
 Safe to the pleasures of your native shore.
 But oh ! relieve a wretched parent's pain,
 And give *Chryseïs* to these arms again ;
 If mercy fail, yet let my presents move,
 And dread avenging *Phæbus*, son of *Jove*. 30

The *Greeks* in shouts their joint assent declare,
 The priest to rev'rence, and release the fair.
 Not so *Atrides* : He, with kingly pride,
 Repuls'd the sacred Sire, and thus reply'd.
 Hence on thy life, and fly these hostile plains, 35
 Nor ask, presumptuous, what the King detains :
 Hence, with thy laurel crown, and golden rod,
 Nor trust too far those ensigns of thy God.
 Mine is thy daughter, Priest, and shall remain ;
 And pray'rs, and tears, and bribes shall plead in
 vain ; 40

'Till time shall rife ev'ry youthful grace,
 And age dismiss her from my cold embrace,

In

added to this version, that it may appear the priest foretells the anger of his God.

V. 33. *He with pride repuls'd.*] It has been remarked in honour of *Homer's* judgment, and the care he took of his reader's morals, that where he speaks of evil actions committed, or hard words given, he generally characterises them as such by a previous expression. This passage is given as one instance of it, where he says the repulse of *Chryses* was a proud injurious action in *Agamemnon* : And it may be remarked, that before his Heroes treat one another with hard language in this book, he still takes care to let us know they were under a distraction of anger. *Plutarch, of reading Poets.*

V. 41. 'Till time shall rife ev'ry youthful grace,
 And age dismiss her from my cold embrace,
 In daily labours of the loom employ'd,
 Or doom'd to deck the bed she once enjoy'd.]

The

In daily labours of the loom employ'd,
 Or doom'd to deck the bed she once enjoy'd.
 Hence then; to *Argos* shall the maid retire, 45
 Far from her native soil, and weeping fire.

The trembling priest along the shore return'd,
 And in the anguish of a father mourn'd.
 Disconsolate, nor daring to complain,
 Silent he wander'd by the sounding main : 50
 'Till

The Greek is ἀντιδραστήν, which signifies either *making* the bed, or *partaking* it. *Eustathius* and *Madam Dacier* insist very much upon its being taken in the former sense only, for fear of presenting a loose idea to the reader, and of offending against the modesty of the Muse, who is supposed to relate the Poem. This observation may very well become a Bishop and a Lady: But that *Agamemnon* was not studying here for civility of expression, appears from the whole tenor of his speech; and that he designed *Chryseis* for more than a servant-maid, may be seen from some other things he says of her, as that he preferred her to his Queen *Clytemnestra*, &c. the impudence of which confession, *Madam Dacier* herself has elsewhere animadverted upon. Mr. *Dryden*, in his translation of this book, has been juster to the royal passion of *Agamemnon*, tho' he has carried the point so much on the other side, as to make him promise a greater fondness for her in her old age than in her youth, which indeed is hardly credible.

*Mine she shall be, 'till creeping age and time
 Her bloom have wither'd, and destroy'd her prime;
 'Till then my nuptial bed she shall attend,
 And having first adorn'd it, late ascend.
 This for the night; by day the web and loom,
 And homely household tasks shall be her doom.*

Nothing could have made Mr. *Dryden* capable of this mistake, but extreme haste in writing; which never ought to be imputed as a fault to him, but to those who suffered so noble a genius to lie under the necessity of it.

V. 47. *The trembling priest.*] We may take notice here, once for all, that *Homer* is frequently eloquent in his very silence. *Chryses* says not a word in answer to the insults of *Agamemnon*,
 but

Till, safe at distance, to his God he prays,
The God who darts around the world his rays.

O *Smintheus* ! sprung from fair *Latona*'s line,
Thou guardian pow'r of *Cilla*, the divine,
Thou source of light ! whom *Tenedos* adores, 55
And whose bright presence gilds thy *Chrysa*'s shores :
If e'er with wreaths I hung thy sacred fane,
Or fed the flames with fat of oxen slain ;
God of the silver bow ! thy shafts employ,
Avenge thy servant, and the *Greeks* destroy. 60

Thus *Chryses* pray'd : The fav'ring Pow'r attends,
And from *Olympus*' lofty tops descends.

Bent was his bow, the *Grecian* hearts to wound ;
Fierce as he mov'd, his silver shafts resound.
Breathing revenge, a sudden night he spread, 65
And gloomy darkness roll'd around his head.
The fleet in view, he twang'd his deadly bow,
And hissing fly the feather'd fates below.

On

but walks pensively along the shore : and the melancholy flowing of the verse admirably expresses the condition of the mournful and deserted father.

Βῆ δ' ἄκίων παρὰ θίνα πολυφλέιστοιο θαλάσσης.

V. 61. *The fav'ring Pow'r attends.*] Upon this first prayer in the poem, *Eustathius* takes occasion to observe, that the poet is careful throughout his whole work to let no prayer ever fall entirely which has justice on its side ; but he who prays, either kills his enemy, or has signs given him that he has been heard, or his friends return, or his undertaking succeeds, or some other visible good happens. So far instructive and useful to life has *Homer* made his fable.

V. 67. *He twang'd his deadly bow.*] In the tenth year of the siege of *Troy* a plague happened in the *Grecian* camp, occasioned perhaps by immoderate heats and gross exhalations. At the introduction of this accident *Homer* begins his Poem.
and

On mules and dogs th' infection first began ;
 And last, the vengeful arrows fix'd in man. 70
 For nine long nights, thro' all the dusky air
 The *Pyres* thick-flaming shot a dismal glare.
 But ere the tenth revolving day was run,
 Inspir'd by *Juno*, *Thetis'* god-like son
 Conven'd to council all the *Grecian* train ; 75
 For much the Goddess mourn'd her Heroes slain.

VOL. I.

G

Th'

and takes occasion from it to open the scene of action with a most beautiful allegory. He supposes that such afflictions are sent from Heaven for the punishment of our evil actions; and because the Sun was a principal instrument of it, he says it was sent to punish *Agamemnon* for despising that God, and injuring his Priest. *Eustathius*.

V. 69. *Mules and dogs.*] *Hippocrates* observes two things of plagues; that their cause is in the air, and that different animals are differently touched by them, according to their nature or nourishment. This philosophy *Spondanus* refers to the plague here mentioned. First, the cause is the air, by reason of the darts or beams of *Apollo*. Secondly, the mules and dogs are said to die sooner than the men; partly because they have by nature a quickness of smell, which makes the infection sooner perceivable; and partly by the nourishment they take, their feeding on the earth with prone heads making the exhalation more easy to be sucked in with it. Thus has *Hippocrates*, so long after *Homer* writ, subscribed to his knowledge in the rise and progress of this distemper. There have been some who have referred this passage to a religious sense, making the death of the mules and dogs before the men to point out a kind method of providence in punishing, whereby it sends some previous afflictions to warn mankind, so as to make them shun the greater evils by repentance. This *Monsieur Dacier*, in his notes on *Aristotle's* art of poetry, calls a Remark perfectly fine and agreeable to God's method of sending plagues on the *Egyptians*, where first horses, asses, &c. were smitten, and afterwards the men themselves.

V. 74. *Thetis' god-like son conven'd to council.*] On the tenth day a council is held to enquire why the Gods were angry. *Plutarch* observes, how justly he applies the characters of his persons to the incidents; not making *Agamemnon* but *Achilles* call this council, who of all the Kings was the most capable
 of

Th' assembly seated, rising o'er the rest,
Achilles thus the King of men addrest.

Why leave we not the fatal *Trojan* shore,
 And measure back the seas we crost before? 80
 The plague destroying whom the sword would spare,
 'Tis time to save the few remains of war.
 But let some Prophet, or some sacred Sage,
 Explore the cause of great *Apollo's* rage;
 Or learn the wasteful vengeance to remove, 85
 By mystic dreams, for dreams descend from *Jove*.
 If broken vows this heavy curse have laid,
 Let altars smoke, and hecatombs be paid,
 So Heav'n aton'd shall dying *Greece* restore,
 And *Phæbus* dart his burning shafts no more. 90

He

of making observations upon the plague, and of foreseeing its duration, as having been bred by *Chiron* to the study of Physic. One may mention also a remark of *Eustathius* in pursuance to this, that *Juno's* advising him in this case might allude to his knowledge of an evil temperament in the Air, of which she was Goddess.

V. 79. *Why leave we not the fatal Trojan shore, &c*] The artifice of this speech (according to *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus*, in his second discourse, *περὶ ἐσχηματισμένων*) is admirably carried on to open an accusation against *Agamemnon*, whom *Achilles* suspects to be the cause of all their miseries. He directs himself not to the assembly, but to *Agamemnon*; he names not only the plague but the war too, as having exhausted them all, which was evidently due to his family. He leads the *Augurs* he would consult, by pointing at something lately done with respect to *Apollo*. And while he continues within the guard of civil expression, scattering his insinuations, he encourages those who may have more knowledge to speak out boldly, by letting them see there is a party made for their safety; which has its effect immediately in the following speech of *Chalcas*, whose demand of protection shows upon whom the offence is to be placed.

V. 86. *By mystic dreams.*] It does not seem that by the word *ὄνειρόπολος* an interpreter of dreams is meant, for we have

He said, and fate : when *Chalcas* thus reply'd,
Chalcas the wise, the *Grecian* priest and guide,
 That sacred Seer, whose comprehensive view
 The past, the present, and the future knew.
 Uprising slow, the venerable Sage 95
 Thus spoke the prudence and the fears of age.

Below'd of *Jove*, *Achilles* ! would'st thou know
 Why angry *Phœbus* bends his fatal bow ?
 First give thy faith, and plight a Prince's word
 Of sure protection, by thy pow'r and sword. 100
 For I must speak what wisdom would conceal,
 And truths, invidious to the Great, reveal.

G 2

Bold

have no hint of any preceding dream that wants to be interpreted. We may therefore more probably refer it to such who used (after performing proper rites) to lie down at some sacred place, and expect a dream from the Gods upon any particular subject which they desired. That this was a practice amongst them, appears from the Temples of *Amphiaræus* in *Bœstia*, and *Podalirius* in *Apulia*, where the enquirer was obliged to sleep at the altar upon the skin of the beast he had sacrificed, in order to obtain an answer. It is in this manner that *Latinus* in *Virgil's* seventh book goes to dream in the Temple of *Faunus*, where we have a particular description of the whole custom. *Strabo*, lib. 16. has spoken concerning the Temple of *Jerusalem* as a place of this nature ; ' where ' (says he) the people either dreamed for themselves, or procured some good dreamer to do it : ' By which it should seem he had read something concerning the visions of their Prophets, as that which *Samuel* had when he was ordered to sleep a third time before the ark, and upon doing so had an account of the destruction of *Eli's* house ; or that which happened to *Solomon* after having sacrificed before the ark at *Gibeon*. The same author has also mentioned the Temple of *Serapis*, in his seventeenth book, as a place for receiving oracles by dreams.

V. 97. *Below'd of Jove, Achilles !*] These appellations of praise and honour, with which the Heroes in *Homer* so frequently salute each other, were agreeable to the style of the ancient times, as appears from several of the like nature in the

Bold is the task, when subjects, grown too wise,
 Instruct a Monarch where his error lies ;
 For tho' we deem the short-liv'd fury past, 105
 'Tis sure, the Mighty will revenge at last.

To whom *Pelides*. From thy inmost soul
 Speak what thou know'st, and speak without controul.
 Ev'n by that God I swear, who rules the day,
 To whom thy hands the vows of *Greece* convey, 110
 And whose blest Oracles thy lips declare ;
 Long as *Achilles* breathes this vital air,
 No daring *Greek* of all the num'rous band,
 Against his Priest shall lift an impious hand :
 Not ev'n the Chief by whom our hosts are led, 115
 The King of Kings shall touch that sacred head.

Encourag'd

the scripture. *Milton* has not been wanting to give his Poem this cast of antiquity, throughout which our first parents almost always accost each other with some title, that expresses a respect to the dignity of human nature.

Daughter of God and Man, immortal Eve.—

Adam, Earth's hallow'd mould of God inspir'd.—

Offspring of heaven and earth, and all earth's Lord, &c.

V. 115. *Not even the chief.*] After *Achilles* had brought in *Chalcas* by his dark doubts concerning *Agamemnon*, *Chalcas* who perceived them, and was unwilling to be the first that named the King, artfully demands a protection in such a manner, as confirms those doubts, and extorts from *Achilles* this warm and particular expression, "That he would protect him even against *Agamemnon*," (who, as he says, is now the greatest man of *Greece*, to hint that at the expiration of the war he should be again reduced to be barely King of *Mycena*.) This place *Plutarch* takes notice of as the first in which *Achilles* shews his contempt of sovereign authority.

V. 117.

Encourag'd thus, the blameless man replies ;
 Nor vows unpaid, nor slighted sacrifice,
 But he, our Chief, provok'd our raging pest,
Apollo's vengeance for his injur'd Priest. 120
 Nor will the God's awaken'd fury cease,
 But plagues shall spread, and fun'ral fires increase,
 'Till the great King, without a ransom paid,
 To her own *Chrysa* send the black-ey'd maid.
 Perhaps, with added sacrifice and pray'r, 125
 The priest may pardon, and the God may spare.

The Prophet spoke ; when with a gloomy frown.
 The Monarch started from his shining throne ;
 Black choler fill'd his breast that boil'd with ire,
 And from his eyeballs flash'd the living fire. 130
 Augur accurs'd ! denouncing mischief still,
 Prophet of plagues, for ever boding ill !

G 3

Still

V. 117. *The blameless.*] The epithet ἀμύμων, or *blameless*, is frequent in *Homer*, but not always used with so much propriety as here. The reader may observe that care has not been wanting through this translation, to preserve those epithets which are peculiar to the author, whenever they receive any beauty from the circumstances about them ; as this of *blameless* manifestly does in the present passage. It is not only applied to a priest, but to one who, being conscious of the truth, prepares with an honest boldness to discover it.

V. 131. *Augur accurs'd.*] This expression is not merely thrown out by chance, but proves what *Chalcas* said of the King when he ask'd protection, " That he harboured anger in his heart." For it aims at the prediction *Chalcas* had given at *Aulis* nine years before, for the sacrificing his daughter *Iphigenia*. *Spondanus*.

This, and the two following lines, are in a manner repetitions of the same thing thrice over. It is left to the reader to consider how far it may be allowed, or rather praised for a beauty, when we consider with *Eustathius* that it is a most natural effect of anger to be full of words, and insinuating on that which galls us. We may add, that these reiterated expressions

Still must that tongue some wounding message bring,
 And still thy priestly pride provoke thy King?
 For this are *Phæbus*' Oracles explor'd, 135
 To teach the *Greeks* to murmur at their Lord?
 For this with falsehoods is my honour stain'd?
 Is Heav'n offended, and a Priest profan'd,
 Because my prize, my beauteous maid I hold,
 And heav'nly charms prefer to proffer'd gold? 140
 A maid, unmatch'd in manners as in face,
 Skill'd in each art, and crown'd with every grace.
 Not half so dear were *Clytæmnestra*'s charms,
 When first her blooming beauties blest my arms.
 Yet if the Gods demand her, let her fail; 145
 Our cares are only for the public weal:
 Let me be deem'd the hateful cause of all,
 And suffer, rather than my people fall.
 The prize, the beauteous prize I will resign,
 So dearly valu'd, and so justly mine. 150
 But since for common good I yield the fair,
 My private loss let grateful *Greece* repair;

Nor

expressions might be supposed to be thrown out one after another, as *Agamemnon* is struck in the confusion of his passion, first by the remembrance of one prophecy, and then of another, which the same man had uttered against him.

V. 143. *Not half so dear were Clytæmnestra's charms.*] *Agamemnon* having heard the charge which *Chalcas* drew up against him in two particulars, that he had affronted the Priest, and refused to restore his daughter; he offers one answer which gives softening colours to both, that he loved her as well as his Queen *Clytæmnestra* for her perfections. Thus he would seem to satisfy the father by kindness to his daughter, to excuse himself before the *Greeks* for what is past, and to make a merit of yielding her, and sacrificing his passion for their safety.

Nor unrewarded let your Prince complain,
That he alone has fought and bled in vain.

Infatiate King (*Achilles* thus replies) 155
Fond of the pow'r, but fonder of the prize !
Would'st thou the *Greeks* their lawful prey should yield,
The due reward of many a well-fought field ?

G 4

The

V. 155. *Infatiate King*] Here, where this passion of anger grows loud, it seems proper to prepare the reader, and prevent this mistake in the character of *Achilles*, which might shock him in several particulars following. We should know that the Poet rather studied nature than perfection, in the laying down his characters. He resolved to sing the consequences of anger ; he considered what virtues and vices would conduce most to bring his Moral out of the Fable ; and artfully disposed them in his chief persons after the manner in which we find them ; making the fault, which most peculiarly attends any good quality, to reside with it. Thus he has placed pride with magnanimity in *Agamemnon*, and craft with prudence in *Ulysses*. And thus we must take his *Achilles*, not as a mere heroic dispassionate character, but as compounded of courage and anger ; one who finds himself almost invincible, and assumes an uncontrouled carriage upon the self-consciousness of his worth ; whose high strain of honour will not suffer him to betray his friends, or fight against them, even while he thinks they have affronted him ; but whose inexorable resentment will not let him hearken to any terms of accommodation. These are the lights and shades of his character, which *Homer* has heightened and darkened in extremes ; because on the one side valour is the darling quality of Epic Poetry ; and on the other, anger the particular subject of this Poem. When characters thus mixed are well conducted, though they be not morally beautiful quite through, they conduce more to the end, and are still poetically perfect.

Plutarch takes occasion from the observation of this conduct in *Homer*, to applaud his just imitation of nature and truth, in representing virtues and vices intermixed in his Heroes : contrary to the paradoxes and strange positions of the Stoicks, who held that no vice could consist with virtue, nor the least virtue with vice. *Plut. de aud. Poëtis.*

The spoils of cities raz'd, and warriors slain,
 We share with justice, as with toil we gain : 160
 But to resume whate'er thy av'rice craves,
 (That trick of tyrants) may be borne by slaves.
 Yet if our Chief for plunder only fight,
 The spoils of *Ilium* shall thy loss requite,
 Whene'er, by *Jove's* decree, our conqu'ring pow'rs 165
 Shall humble to the dust her lofty tow'rs.

Then thus the King. Shall I my prize resign
 With tame content, and thou possessest of thine ?
 Great as thou art, and like a God in fight,
 Think not to rob me of a soldier's right. 170
 At thy demand shall I restore the maid ?
 First let the just equivalent be paid :

Such

V. 169. *Great as thou art, and like a God in fight.*] The words in the original are *θεοεικέλ' Ἀχιλλεύ*. *Ulysses* is soon after called *Δῖος*, and others in other places. The phrase of *divine* or *God-like* is not used by the Poet to signify perfection in men, but applied to considerable persons upon account of some particular qualification or advantage, which they were possessed of far above the common standard of mankind. Thus it is ascribed to *Achilles* on account of his great valour, to *Ulysses* for his pre-eminence in wisdom ; even to *Paris* for his exceeding beauty, and to *Clytemnestra* for several fair endowments.

V. 172. *First let the just equivalent.*] The reasoning in point of right between *Achilles* and *Agamemnon* seems to be this. *Achilles* pleads that *Agamemnon* could not seize upon any other man's captive without a new distribution, it being an invasion of private property. On the other hand, as *Agamemnon's* power was limited, how came it that all the *Grecian* Captains would submit to an illegal and arbitrary action ? I think the legal pretence for his seizing *Briseis* must have been founded upon that law whereby the Commander in chief had the power of taking what part of the prey he pleased for his own use : And he being obliged to restore what he had taken, it seem'd but just that he should have a second choice.

Such as a King might ask ; and let it be
 A treasure worthy her, and worthy me.
 Or grant me this, or with a monarch's claim 175
 This hand shall seize some other captive dame.
 The mighty *Ajax* shall his prize resign,
Ulysses' spoils, or ev'n thy own be mine.
 The man who suffers, loudly may complain ;
 And rage he may, but he shall rage in vain. 180
 But this when time requires—It now remains
 We launch a bark to plow the wat'ry plains,
 And waft the sacrifice to *Chrysa's* shores,
 With chosen pilots, and with lab'ring oars.
 Soon shall the fair the sable ship ascend, 185
 And some deputed Prince the charge attend ;
 This *Creta's* King, or *Ajax* shall fulfill,
 Or wise *Ulysses* see perform'd our will ;
 Or, if our royal Pleasure shall ordain,
Achilles' self conduct her o'er the Main ; 190
 Let fierce *Achilles*, dreadful in his rage,
 The God propitiate, and the pest assuage.
 At this, *Pelides*, frowning stern, reply'd :
 O tyrant, arm'd with insolence and pride !
 Inglorious slave to int'rest, ever join'd : 195
 With fraud unworthy of a royal mind !
 What gen'rous *Greek*, obedient to thy word,
 Shall form an ambush, or shall lift the sword ?
 What cause have I to war at thy decree ?
 The distant *Trojans* never injur'd me : 200
 To *Phthia's* realms no hostile troops they led ;
 Safe in her vales my warlike courfers fed ;
 Far hence remov'd, the hoarse resounding main,
 And walls of rocks, secure my native reign,

Whose fruitful soil luxuriant harvests grace, 205
 Rich in her fruits, and in her martial race.
 Hither we fail'd, a voluntary throng,
 T'avenge a private, not a public wrong :
 What else to *Troy* th' assembled nations draws,
 But thine, ungrateful, and thy brother's cause ? 210
 Is this the pay our blood and toils deserve,
 Disgrac'd and injur'd by the man we serve ?
 And dar'st thou threat to snatch my prize away,
 Due to the deeds of many a dreadful day ?
 A prize as small, O tyrant ! match'd with thine, 215
 As thy own actions if compar'd to mine.
 Thine in each conquest is the wealthy prey,
 Tho' mine the sweat and danger of the day.

Some

V. 213. *And dar'st thou threat to snatch my prize away,
 Due to the deeds of many a dreadful day ?*]

The anger of these two Princes was equally upon the account of women, but yet it is observable that they are conducted with a very different air. *Agamemnon* appears as a lover, *Achilles* as a warrior : The one speaks of *Chryseis* as a beauty whom he valued equal to his wife, and whose merit was too considerable to be easily resigned ; the other treats *Brisseis* as a slave, whom he is concerned to preserve in point of honour, as a testimony of his glory. Hence it is that we never hear him mention her but as his *Spoil*, the *Reward of War*, the *Gift the Grecians gave him*, or the like expressions : and accordingly he yields her up, not in grief for a mistress whom he loses, but in fullness for an injury that is done him. This observation is *Madam Dacier's*, and will often appear just as we proceed farther. Nothing is finer than the Moral shown us in this quarrel, of the blindness and partiality of mankind to their own faults : The *Grecians* make a war to recover a woman that was ravished, and are in danger to fail in the attempt by a dispute about another. *Agamemnon*, while he is revenging a rape, commits one ; and *Achilles*, while he is in the utmost fury himself, reproaches *Agamemnon* for his passionate temper.

V. 225.

Some trivial present to my ships I bear,
 Or barren praises pay the wounds of war. 220
 But know, proud monarch, I'm thy slave no more;
 My fleet shall waft me to *Theſſalia's* shore.
 Left by *Achilles* on the *Trojan* plain,
 What spoils, what conquests shall *Atrides* gain?
 To this the King: Fly, mighty warrior! fly, 225
 Thy aid we need not, and thy threats defy.
 There want not chiefs in ſuch a cauſe to fight,
 And *Jove* himſelf ſhall guard a monarch's right.
 Of all the Kings (the Gods' diſtinguiſh'd care)
 To pow'r ſuperior none ſuch hatred bear: 230
 Strife and debate thy reſtleſs ſoul employ,
 And wars and horrors are thy ſavage joy.
 If thou haſt ſtrength, 'twas Heav'n that ſtrength be-
 ſtow'd,
 For know, vain man! thy valour is from God.
 Haſte, launch thy veſſels, fly with ſpeed away, 235
 Rule thy own realms with arbitrary ſway:

I heed

V. 225. *Fly, mighty warrior.*] *Achilles* having threatened to leave them in the former ſpeech, and ſpoken of his warlike actions; the Poet here puts an artful piece of ſpite in the mouth of *Agamemnon*, making him opprobriouſly brand his retreat as a flight, and leſſen the appearance of his courage, by calling it the love of contention and ſlaughter.

V. 229. *Kings, the Gods diſtinguiſh'd care.*] In the original it is *Διόγενες*, or *nurſt by Jove*. *Homer* often uſes to call his Kings by ſuch epithets as *Διογενής*, *born of the Gods*, or *Διόπρεπής*, *bred by the Gods*; by which he points out to themſelves, the offices they were ordained for; and their people, the reverence that ſhould be paid them. Theſe expreſſions are perfectly in the exalted ſtyle of the eaſtern nations, and correſpondent to thoſe places of holy ſcripture where they are called *Gods*, and *the Sons of the moſt High*.

V. 261.

I heed thee not, but prize at equal rate
 Thy short-liv'd friendship, and thy groundless hate.
 Go, threat thy earth-born *Myrmidons* ; but here
 'Tis mine to threaten, Prince, and thine to fear. 240
 Know, if the God the beauteous dame demand,
 My bark shall waft her to her native land ;
 But then prepare, imperious Prince ! prepare,
 Fierce as thou art, to yield thy captive fair :
 Ev'n in thy tent I'll seize the blooming prize, 245
 Thy lov'd *Briseïs* with the radiant eyes.
 Hence shalt thou prove my might, and curse the hour,
 Thou stood'st a rival of imperial pow'r ;
 And hence to all our host it shall be known,
 That kings are subject to the Gods alone. 250
Achilles heard, with grief and rage oppress'd,
 His heart swell'd high, and labour'd in his breast.
 Distracting thoughts by turns his bosom rul'd,
 Now fir'd by wrath, and now by reason cool'd :
 That prompts his hand to draw the deadly sword, 255
 Force thro' the *Greeks*, and pierce their haughty Lord ;
 This whispers soft, his vengeance to controul,
 And calm the rising tempest of his soul.
 Just as in anguish of suspense he stay'd,
 While half unsheath'd appear'd the glitt'ring blade, 260
Minerva swift descended from above,
 Sent by the * sister and the wife of *Jove* ;

(For

* *Juno*.

V. 261. *Minerva swift descended from above.*] *Homer* having
 by degrees rais'd *Achilles* to such a pitch of fury, as to make
 him capable of attempting *Agamemnon's* life in the council,
Pallas the Goddess of Wisdom descends, and being seen only
 by him, pulls him back in the very instant of execution.
 He

(For both the Princes claim'd her equal care)

Behind the flood, and by the golden hair

Achilles seiz'd; to him alone confest;

265

A sable cloud conceal'd her from the rest.

He sees, and sudden to the Goddess cries,

Known by the flames that sparkle from her eyes.

Descends

He parleys with her a while, as imagining she would advise him to proceed, but upon the promise of such a time wherein there should be a full reparation of his honour, he sheaths his sword in obedience to her. She ascends to Heaven, and he being left to himself, falls again upon his General with bitter expressions. The *allegory* here may be allowed by every reader to be unforced: the prudence of *Achilles* checks him in the rashest moment of his anger, it works upon him unseen to others, but does not entirely prevail upon him to desist 'till he remembers his own importance, and depends upon it that there will be a necessity of their courting him at any expence into the alliance again. Having persuaded himself by such reflections, he forbears to attack his General, but thinking that he sacrifices enough to prudence by this forbearance, lets the thought of it vanish from him; and no sooner is Wisdom gone, but he falls into more violent reproaches for the gratification of his passion. All this is a most beautiful passage, whose Moral is evident, and generally agreed on by the Commentators.

V. 268. *Known by the flames that sparkled from her eyes.* They who carry on this allegory after the most minute manner, refer this to the eyes of *Achilles*, as indeed we must, if we entirely destroy the bodily appearance of *Minerva*. But what Poet, designing to have his Moral so open, would take pains to form it into a Fable? In the proper mythological sense, this passage should be referred to *Minerva*; according to an opinion of the ancients, who supposed that the Gods had a peculiar light in their eyes. That *Homer* was not ignorant of this opinion, appears from his use of it in other places, as when in the third *Iliad*, *Helena* by this means discovers *Venus*: And that he meant it here, is particularly asserted by *Heliodorus*, in the third book of his *Æthiopic* history. "The Gods, says he, are known in their apparitions to men
"by the fixed glare of their eyes, or their gliding passage
"through air without moving their feet; these marks
"Homer has used from his knowledge of the *Ægyptian* learning,
"applying

Descends *Minerva*, in her guardian care,
 A heav'nly witness of the wrongs I bear, 270
 From *Atræus*' son? Then let those eyes that view
 The daring crime, behold the vengeance too.

Forbear! (the progeny of *Jove* replies)
 To calm thy fury I forsake the skies:
 Let great *Achilles*, to the Gods resign'd, 275
 To reason yield the empire o'er his mind.
 By awful *Juno* this command is giv'n;
 The King and you are both the care of Heav'n.
 The force of keen reproaches let him feel,
 But sheath, obedient, thy revenging steel. 280
 For I pronounce (and trust a heav'nly pow'r)
 Thy injur'd honour has its fated hour,
 When the proud monarch shall thy arms implore,
 And bribe thy friendship with a boundless store.
 Then let revenge no longer bear the sway, 285
 Command thy passions, and the Gods obey.

To her *Pelides*. With regardful ear,
 'Tis just, O Goddess! I thy dictates hear.
 Hard as it is, my vengeance I suppress:
 Those who revere the Gods, the Gods will bless. 290
 He said, observant of the blue-ey'd maid:
 Then in the sheath return'd the shining blade.
 The Goddess swift to high *Olympus* flies,
 And joins the sacred senate of the skies.

Nor

"applying one to *Pallas*, and the other to *Neptune*." Madam *Dacier* has gone into the contrary opinion, and blames *Eustathius* and others without overthrowing these authorities, or assigning any other reason but that it was not proper for *Minerva*'s eyes to *sparkle*, when her speech was mild.

V. 298.

Nor yet the rage his boiling breast forsook, 295
 Which thus redoubling on *Atrides* broke.
 O monster ! mix'd of insolence and fear,
 Thou dog in forehead, but in heart a deer !
 When wert thou known in ambush'd fights to dare,
 Or nobly face the horrid front of War ? 300
 'Tis ours, the chance of fighting fields to try,
 Thine to look on, and bid the Valiant die.

So

V. 298. *Thou dog in forehead.*] It has been one of the objections against the manners of *Homer's* Heroes, that they are abusive. *Mons. de la Motte* affirms in his discourse upon the *Iliad*, that great Men differ from the vulgar in their manner of expressing their passion ; but certainly in violent passions (such as those of *Achilles* and *Agamemnon*) the Great are as subject as any others to these fallies ; of which we have frequent examples, both from history and experience. *Plutarch*, taking notice of this line, gives it as a particular commendation of *Homer*, " that he constantly affords us a fine lecture of " morality in his reprehensions and praises, by referring " them not to the goods of fortune or the body, but those " of the mind, which are in our power, and for which we " are blameable or praise-worthy. Thus, says he, *Agamemnon* " is reproached for impudence and fear, *Ajax* for vain " bragging, *Idomeneus* for the love of contention, and *Ulysses* " does not reprove even *Thersites* but as a babbler, though he " had so many personal deformities to object to him. In " like manner also the appellations and epithets, with which " they accost one another, are generally founded on some " distinguishing qualification of merit, as *Wise Ulysses*, *Hector equal to Jove in Wisdom*, *Achilles chief Glory of the* " *Greeks*," and the like. *Plutarch of reading Poets.*

V. 299. *In ambush'd fights to dare.*] *Homer* has magnified the *ambush* as the boldest manner of fight. They went upon those parties with a few men only, and generally the most daring of the army, on occasions of the greatest hazard, where they were therefore more exposed than in a regular battle. Thus *Idomeneus* in the thirteenth book, expressly tells *Meriones*, that the greatest courage appears in this way of service, each man being in a manner singled out to the proof of it. *Eustatbius.*

V. 309.

So much 'tis safer thro' the camp to go,
 And rob a subject, than despoil a foe.
 Scourge of thy people, violent and base ! 305
 Sent in *Jove's* anger on a slavish race,
 Who lost to sense of gen'rous freedom past,
 Are tam'd to wrongs, or this had been thy last.
 Now by this sacred sceptre, hear me swear,
 Which never more shall leaves or blossoms bear, 310
 Which

V. 309. *Now by this sacred sceptre.*] *Spondanus* in this place blames *Eustathius*, for saying that *Homer* makes *Achilles* in his passion swear by the first thing he meets with; and then assigns (as from himself) two causes, which the other had mentioned so plainly before, that it is a wonder they could be overlooked. The substance of the whole passage in *Eustathius*, is, that if we consider the sceptre simply as wood, *Achilles* after the manner of the ancients takes in his transport the first thing to swear by; but that *Homer* himself has in the process of the description assigned reasons why it is proper for the occasion, which may be seen by considering it symbolically. First, That as the wood being cut from the tree, will never re-unite and flourish, so neither should their amity ever flourish again, after they were divided by this contention. Secondly, That a sceptre being the mark of power, and symbol of justice, to swear by it might in effect be construed swearing by the God of Power, and by justice itself; and accordingly it is spoken of by *Aristotle*, 3. l. *Polit.* as a usual solemn oath of Kings.

I cannot leave this passage without shewing, in opposition to some moderns who have criticized upon it as tedious, that it has been esteemed a beauty by the ancients, and engaged them in its imitation. *Virgil* has almost transcribed it in his 12 *Æn.* for the sceptre of *Latinus*.

*Ut sceptrum hoc (sceptrum dextrâ nam fortè gerebat)
 Nunquam fronde levi fundet virgulta nec umbras;
 Cum semel in sylvis imo de stirpe recisum,
 Matre caret, posuitque comas & brachia ferro:
 Olim arbor, nunc artificis manus ære decoro
 Includit, patribusque dedit gestare Latinis.*

But

Which sever'd from the trunk (as I from thee)
 On the bare mountains left its parent tree ;
 'This sceptre, form'd by temper'd steel to prove
 An ensign of the delegates of *Jove*,
 From whom the pow'r of laws and justice springs: 315
 (Tremendous oath ! inviolate to Kings)
 By this I swear, when bleeding *Greece* again
 Shall call *Achilles*, she shall call in vain.
 When flush'd with slaughter, *Hector* comes, to spread
 The purpled shore with mountains of the dead, 320
 Then shalt thou mourn th' affront thy madness gave,
 Forc'd to deplore, when impotent to save :

Then

But I cannot think this comes up to the spirit or propriety of *Homer*, notwithstanding the judgment of *Scaliger*, who decides for *Virgil*, upon a trivial comparison of the wording in each, *l. 5. cap. 3. Poet.* It fails in a greater point than any he has mentioned, which is, that being there used on occasion of a peace, it has no emblematical reference to division, and yet describes the cutting of the wood and its incapacity to bloom and branch again, in as many words as *Homer*. It is borrowed by *Valerius Flaccus* in his third book, where he makes *Jason* swear as a warrior by his spear,

*Hanc ego magnanimi spoliū Didymæonis hastam,
 Ut semel est avulsa jugis à matre precepta,
 Quæ neque jam frondes virides neque proferet umbras,
 Fida ministeria & duras obit horrida pugnas,
 Testor.*

And indeed, however he may here borrow some expressions from *Virgil* or fall below him in others, he has nevertheless kept to *Homer* in the emblem, by introducing the oath upon *Jason's* grief for sailing to *Cholchis* without *Hercules*, when he had separated him from the body of the *Argonauts* to search after *Hylas*. To render the beauty of this passage more manifest, the allusion is inserted (but with the fewest words possible) in this translation.

V. 324.

Then rage in bitterness of soul, to know
This act has made the bravest *Greek* thy foe.

He spoke; and furious, hurl'd against the ground 325
His sceptre starr'd with golden studs around.
Then sternly silent fate. With like disdain,
The raging King return'd his frowns again.

To calm their passion with the words of age,
Slow from his seat arose the *Pylian* sage, 330
Experienc'd *Nestor*, in persuasion skill'd,
Words, sweet as honey, from his lips distill'd:
Two generations now had past away,
Wife by his rules, and happy by his sway;

Two

V. 324. *Thy rashness made the bravest Greek thy foe.*] If self-praise had not been agreeable to the haughty nature of *Achilles*, yet *Plutarch* has mentioned a case, and with respect to him, wherein it is allowable. He says that *Achilles* has at other times ascribed his success to *Jupiter*, but it is permitted to a man of merit and figure, who is injuriously dealt with, to speak frankly of himself to those who are forgetful and unthankful.

V. 333. *Two generations.*] The Commentators make not *Nestor* to have lived three hundred years (according to *Ovid's* opinion;) they take the word *γενεά* not to signify a century or age of the world; but a generation, or compass of time in which one set of men flourish, which in the common computation is thirty years; and accordingly it is here translated as much the more probable.

From what *Nestor* says in this speech, *Madam Dacier* computes the age he was of at the end of the *Trojan* war. The fight of the *Lapithæ* and *Centaurs* fell out fifty-five or fifty-six years before the war of *Troy*: The quarrel of *Agamemnon* and *Achilles* happened in the tenth and last year of that war. It was then sixty-five or sixty-six years since *Nestor* fought against the *Centaurs*; he was capable at that time of giving counsel, so that one cannot imagine him to have been under twenty: From whence it will appear that he was now almost arrived to the conclusion of his third age, and about four-score and five, or four score and six years of age.

V. 339.

Two ages o'er his native realm he reign'd, 335

And now th' example of the third remain'd.

All view'd with awe the venerable man ;

Who thus, with mild benevolence, began :

What shame, what woe is this to *Greece* ! what joy
To *Troy*'s proud monarch, and the friends of *Troy* ! 340
That

V. 339. *What shame*] The quarrel having risen to its highest extravagance, *Nestor* the wisest and most aged *Greek* is raised to quiet the Princes, whose speech is therefore framed entirely with an opposite air to all which has been hitherto said, sedate and inoffensive. He begins with a soft affectionate complaint which he opposes to their threats and haughty language ; he reconciles their attention in an awful manner, by putting them in mind that they hear one whom their fathers and the greatest Heroes had heard with deference. He sides with neither, that he might not anger any one, while he advises them to the proper methods of reconciliation ; and he appears to side with both while he praises each, that they may be induced by the recollection of one another's worth to return to that amity which would bring success to the cause. It was not however consistent with the plan of the poem that they should entirely be appeased, for then the anger would be at an end which was proposed as the subject of the Poem. *Homer* has not therefore made this speech to have its full success ; and yet that the eloquence of his *Nestor* might not be thrown out of character by its proving unavailable, he takes care that the violence with which the dispute was managed should abate immediately upon his speaking ; *Agamemnon* confesses that all he spoke was right, *Achilles* promises not to fight for *Briseis* if she should be sent for, and the council dissolves.

It is to be observed that this character of authority and wisdom in *Nestor*, is every where admirably used by *Homer*, and made to exert itself through all the great emergencies of the poem. As he quiets the Princes here, he proposes that expedient which reduces the army into their order after the Sedition in the second book. When the *Greeks* are in the utmost distresses, 'tis he who advises the building the fortifications before the fleet, which is the chief means of preserving them. And it is by his persuasion that *Patroclus* puts on the armour of *Achilles*, which occasions the return of that Hero, and the conquest of *Troy*.

That adverse Gods commit to stern debate
 The best, the bravest of the *Grecian* state.
 Young as you are, this youthful heat restrain,
 Nor think your *Vestor's* years and wisdom vain.
 A God-like race of Heroes once I knew, 345
 Such, as no more these aged eyes shall view !
 Lives there a chief to match *Pirithous'* fame,
Dryas the bold, or *Ceneus'* deathless name ?
Theseus, endu'd with more than mortal might,
 Or *Polyphemus*, like the Gods in fight ? 350
 With these of old to toils of battle bred,
 In early youth my hardy days I led ;
 Fir'd with the thirst which virtuous envy breeds,
 And smit with love of honourable deeds.
 Strongest of Men, they pierc'd the mountain boar, }
 Rang'd the wild deserts red with monsters gore, 355 }
 And from their hills the shaggy *Centaurs* tore.
 Yet these with soft, persuasive arts I sway'd ;
 When *Nestor* spoke they listen'd and obey'd.
 If in my youth, ev'n these esteem'd me wise, 360
 Do you, young warriors, hear my age advise.
Atrides, seize not on the beauteous slave ;
 That prize the *Greeks* by common suffrage gave :
 Nor thou, *Achilles*, treat our prince with pride ;
 Let Kings be just, and sov'reign pow'r preside. 365
 Thee, the first honours of the war adorn,
 Like Gods in strength, and of a Goddess born ;
 Him, awful majesty exalts above
 The pow'rs of earth, and sceptred sons of *Jove*.
 Let both unite with well-consenting mind, 370
 So shall authority with strength be join'd.

Leave

Leave me, O King ! to calm *Achilles'* rage ;
 Rule thou thyself, as more advanc'd in age.
 Forbid it, Gods ! *Achilles* should be lost,
 The pride of *Greece*, and bulwark of our host. 375

This said, he ceas'd : The King of Men replies ;
 Thy years are awful, and thy words are wise.
 But that imperious, that unconquer'd soul,
 No laws can limit, no respect controul.

Before his pride must his superiors fall, 380
 His word the law, and he the Lord of all ?
 Him must our hosts, our chiefs, our self obey ?

What King can bear a rival in his sway ?
 Grant that the Gods his matchless force have giv'n ;
 Has foul reproach a privilege from heav'n ? 385

Here on the Monarch's speech *Achilles* broke,
 And furious, thus, and interrupting spoke.
 Tyrant, I well deserv'd thy galling chain,
 To live thy slave, and still to serve in vain,
 Should I submit to each unjust decree : 390

Command thy vassals, but command not me.
 Seize on *Brisëis*, whom the *Grecians* doom'd
 My prize of war, yet tamely see resum'd ;
 And seize secure ; No more *Achilles* draws
 His conqu'ring sword in any woman's cause. 395

The

V. 394. ——— No more *Achilles* draws
 His conqu'ring sword in any woman's cause.]

When *Achilles* promises, not to contest for *Brisëis*, he expresses it in a sharp despising air, *I will not fight for the sake of a woman* : by which he glances at *Helena*, and casts an oblique reflection upon those commanders whom he is about to leave at the siege for her cause. One may observe how well it is fancied of the Poet, to make one woman the ground of a quarrel

The Gods command me to forgive the past ;
 But let this first invasion be the last :
 For know, thy blood, when next thou dar'st invade,
 Shall stream in vengeance on my reeking blade.
 At this they ceas'd ; the stern debate expir'd : 400
 The chiefs in fullen majesty retir'd.

Achilles with *Patroclus* took his way,
 Where near his tents his hollow vessels lay.
 Mean time *Atrides* launch'd with num'rous oars
 A well-rigg'd ship for *Chrysa's* sacred shores : 405
 High on the deck was fair *Chryseis* plac'd,
 And sage *Ulysses* with the conduct grac'd :
 Safe in her sides the hecatomb they stow'd,
 Then swiftly sailing, cut the liquid road.

The host to expiate, next the King prepares, 410
 With pure lustrations, and with solemn pray'rs.
 Wash'd by the briny wave, the pious train
 Are cleans'd ; and cast th' ablutions in the main.

Along

quarrel which breaks an alliance which was only formed upon account of another : and how much the circumstance thus consider'd contributes to keep up the anger of *Achilles*, for carrying on the Poem beyond this dissolution of the council. For (as he himself argues with *Ulysses* in the 9th *Iliad*) it is as reasonable for him to retain his anger upon the account of *Briseis*, as for the brothers with all *Greece* to carry on a war upon the score of *Helena*. I do not know that any commentator has taken notice of this sarcasm of *Achilles*, which I think a very obvious one.

V. 413. *Th' ablutions.*] All our former *English* translations seem to have erred in the sense of this line ; the word *λύμῃαι* being differently rendered by them, *offals* or *entrails*, or *purgaments*, or *ordures*, a gross set of ideas, of which *Homer* is not guilty. The word comes from *λῶω*, *eluo*, the same verb from whence *ἐπιλυμαίνω*, which precedes in the line, is derived. So that the sense appears to be as it is rendered here, [*They wash'd, and threw away their washings.*] Perhaps
 this

Along the shore whole hecatombs were laid,
 And bulls and goats to *Phæbus*' altars paid. 415
 The fable fumes in curling spires arise,
 And waft their grateful odours to the skies.

The army thus in sacred rites engag'd,
Atrides still with deep resentment rag'd.
 To wait his will two sacred heralds stood, 420
Talthybius and *Eurybates* the good.

Haste to the fierce *Achilles*' tent (he cries)
 Thence bear *Briseïs* as our royal prize :
 Submit he must ; or if they will not part,
 Our self in arms shall tear her from his heart. 425

Th' unwilling heralds act their lord's commands ;
 Pensive they walk along the barren sands :
 Arriv'd, the Hero in his tent they find,
 With gloomy aspect, on his arm reclin'd.
 At awful distance long they silent stand, 430
 Loth to advance, or speak their hard command ;

Decent

this lustration might be used as a physical remedy in cleansing them from the infection of the plague : as *Pausanias* tells us it was by the *Arcadians*, from whence he says the plague was called *λύμην* by the *Greeks*.

V. 430. *At awful distance silent.*] There was required a very remarkable management to preserve all the characters which are concerned in this nice conjuncture, wherein the heralds were to obey at their peril ; *Agamemnon* was to be gratified by an insult on *Achilles* ; and *Achilles* was to suffer so as might become his pride and not have his violent temper provoked. From all this the Poet has found the secret to extricate himself, by only taking care to make his heralds stand in sight, and silent. Thus they neither make *Agamemnon*'s majesty suffer by uttering their message submissively, nor occasion a rough treatment from *Achilles* by demanding *Briseïs* in the peremptory air he ordered ; and at the same time *Achilles* is gratified with the opportunity of giving her up, as if he rather sent her than was forced to relinquish her. The art of this has been taken notice of by *Eustathius*.

V. 451.

Decent confusion ! This the god-like man
Perceiv'd, and thus with accent mild began.

With leave and honour enter our abodes,
Ye sacred ministers of men and Gods ! 435

I know your message ; by constraint you came ;
Not you, but your imperious lord I blame.

Patroclus, haste, the fair *Briſeis* bring ;
Conduct my captive to the haughty King.
But witness, heralds, and proclaim my vow, 440
Witness to Gods above, and men below !

But first, and loudest, to your Prince declare,
That lawless tyrant whose commands you bear ;
Unmov'd as death *Achilles* shall remain,
Tho' prostrate *Greece* should bleed at ev'ry vein : 445
The raging Chief in frantick passion lost,
Blind to himself, and useless to his host,
Unskill'd to judge the future by the past,
In blood and slaughter shall repent at last.

Patroclus now th' unwilling beauty brought ; 450
She, in soft sorrows, and in pensive thought,
Past silent, as the heralds held her hand,
And oft look'd back, slow moving o'er the strand.

Not

V. 451. *She, in soft sorrows.*] The behaviour of *Briſeis* in her departure is no less beautifully imagined than the former. A *French* or *Italian* Poet had lavished all his wit and passion in two long speeches on this occasion, which the heralds must have wept to hear ; instead of which, *Homer* gives us a fine picture of nature. We see *Briſeis* passing unwillingly along, with a dejected air, melted in tenderness, and not able to utter a word : And in the lines immediately following, we have a *contraste* to this in the gloomy resentment of *Achilles*, who suddenly retires to the shore, and vents his rage aloud to the seas. The variation of the numbers just in this place adds a great beauty to it, which has been endeavoured at in the translation.

V. 456.

Not so his loss the fierce *Achilles* bore ;
 But sad retiring to the sounding shore, 455
 O'er the wild margin of the deep he hung,
 That kindred deep, from whence his mother sprung.
 There, bath'd in tears of anger and disdain,
 Thus loud lamented to the stormy main.

O parent Goddess ! since in early bloom 460
 Thy son must fall by too severe a doom ;
 Sure, to so short a race of glory born,
 Great *Jove* in justice should this span adorn :
 Honour and fame at least the Thund'rer ow'd,
 And ill he pays the promise of a God ; 465

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H

If

V. 458. *There, bath'd in tears.*] *Eustathius* observes on this place that it is no weakness in Heroes to weep, but the very effect of humanity and proof of a generous temper ; for which he offers several instances, and takes notice that if *Sophocles* would not let *Ajax* weep, it is because he is drawn rather as a madman than a hero. But this general observation is not all we can offer in excuse for the tears of *Achilles* : His are tears of anger and disdain (as I have ventured to call them in the translation) of which a great and fiery temper is more susceptible than any other ; and even in this case *Homer* has taken care to preserve the high character, by making him retire to vent his tears out of sight. And we may add to these an observation of which *Madam Dacier* is fond, the reason why *Agamemnon* parts not in tears from *Chryseis*, and *Achilles* does from *Briseis* : The one parts willingly from his mistress ; and because he does it for his people's safety, it becomes an honour to him : the other is parted unwillingly, and because his General takes her by force, the action reflects a dishonour upon him.

V. 464. *The thund'rer ow'd.*] This alludes to a story which *Achilles* tells the ambassadors of *Agamemnon*, *Il.* 9. That he had the choice of two fates : one less glorious at home, but blessed with a very long life ; the other full of glory at *Troy*, but then he was never to return. The alternate being thus proposed to him (not from *Jupiter* but *Thetis* who revealed the decree) he chose the latter, which he looks upon as his due, since he gives away length of life for it : and accordingly
 when

If yon' proud monarch thus thy son defies,
Obscures my glories, and resumes my prize.

Far in the deep recesses of the main,
Where aged *Ocean* holds his wat'ry reign,
The Goddess-mother heard. The waves divide; 470
And like a mist she rose above the tide;
Beheld him mourning on the naked shores,
And thus the sorrows of his soul explores.

Why grieves my son? Thy anguish let me share,
Reveal the cause, and trust a parent's care. 475

He deeply sighing said: To tell my woe,
Is but to mention what too well you know.
From *Thebè* sacred to *Apollo's* name,
(*Ætion's* realm) our conqu'ring army came,

With

when he complains to his mother of the disgrace he lies under, it is in this manner he makes a demand of honour.

Monf. *de la Motte* very judiciously observes, that but for this fore-knowledge of the certainty of his death at *Troy*, *Achilles's* character could have drawn but little esteem from the reader. A hero of a vicious mind, blessed only with a superiority of strength, and invulnerable into the bargain, was not very proper to excite admiration; but *Homer* by this exquisite piece of art has made him the greatest of heroes, who is still pursuing glory in contempt of death, and even under that certainty generously devoting himself in every action.

V. 478. *From Thebè.*] *Homer*, who opened his poem with the action which immediately brought on *Achilles's* anger, being now to give an account of the same thing again, takes his rise more backward in the story. Thus the reader is informed in what he should know, without having been delayed from entering upon the promised subject. This is the first attempt which we see made towards the poetical method of narration, which differs from the historical, in that it does not proceed directly always in the line of time, but sometimes relates things which have gone before, when a more proper opportunity demands it, to make the narration more informing or beautiful.

The

With treasure loaded and triumphant spoils, 480
 Whose just division crown'd the soldier's toils ;
 But bright *Chryseis*, heavenly prize ! was led
 By vote selected, to the Gen'ral's bed.
 The priest of *Phœbus* fought by gifts to gain
 His beauteous daughter from the victor's chain ; 485
 The fleet he reach'd, and lowly bending down,
 Held forth the sceptre and the laurel crown,
 Entreating all : but chief implor'd for grace
 The brother Kings of *Atreus*' royal race :
 The gen'rous *Greeks* their joint consent declare, 490
 The priest to rev'ence, and release the fair ;
 Not so *Atrides*' : He, with wonted pride,
 The fire insulted, and his gifts deny'd :
 Th' insulted fire (his God's peculiar care)
 To *Phœbus* pray'd, and *Phœbus* heard the pray'r : 495

H 2

A dreadful

The foregoing remark is in regard only to the first six lines of this speech. What follows is a rehearsal of the preceding action of the poem, almost in the same words he had used in the opening it ; and is one of those faults which have with most justice been objected to our Author. It is not to be denied but the account must be tedious, of what the reader had been just before informed : And especially when we are given to understand it was no way necessary, by what *Achilles* says at the beginning, that *Thetis knew the whole story already*. As to repeating the same lines, a practice usual with *Homer*, it is not so excusable in this place as in those, where messages are delivered in the words they are received, or the like ; it being unnatural to imagine, that the person, whom the Poet introduces as actually speaking, should fall into the self same words that are used in the narration by the Poet himself. Yet *Milton* was so great an admirer and imitator of our author, as not to have scrupled even this kind of repetition. The passage is at the end of his tenth book, where *Adam* having declared he would prostrate himself before God in certain particular acts of humiliation, those acts are immediately after described by the Poet in the same words.

V. 514.

A dreadful plague ensues : Th' avenging darts
 Incessant fly, and pierce the *Grecian* hearts.
 A prophet then, inspir'd by heav'n arose,
 And points the crime, and thence derives the woes :
 My self the first th' assembled chiefs incline 500
 T' avert the vengeance of the pow'r divine ;
 Then rising in his wrath, the Monarch storm'd ;
 Incens'd he threaten'd, and his threats perform'd :
 The fair *Chryseis* to her fire was sent,
 With offer'd gifts to make the God relent ; 505
 But now he seiz'd *Briséis*' heav'nly charms,
 And of my valour's prize defrauds my arms,
 Defrauds the votes of all the *Grecian* train ;
 And service, faith, and justice plead in vain.
 But, Goddess ! thou thy suppliant son attend, 510
 To high *Olympus*' shining court ascend,
 Urge all the ties to former service ow'd,
 And sue for vengeance to the thund'ring God.
 Oft hast thou triumph'd in the glorious boast,
 That thou stood'st forth, of all th' æthereal host, 515
 When

V. 514. *Oft hast thou triumph'd.*] The persuasive which *Achilles* is here made to put into the mouth of *Thetis*, is most artfully contriv'd to suit the present exigency. You, says he, must intreat *Jupiter* to bring miseries on the *Greeks*, who are protected by *Juno*, *Neptune*, and *Minerva* : Put him therefore in mind that those Deities were once his enemies, and adjure him by that service you did him when those very powers would have bound him, that he will now in his turn assist you against the endeavours they will oppose to my wishes. *Eustathius*.

As for the story itself, some have thought (with whom is *Madam Dacier*) that there was some imperfect tradition of the fall of the Angels for their rebellion, which the *Greeks* had received by commerce with *Agypt* ; and thus they account the rebellion of the Gods, the precipitation of *Vulcan* from

When bold rebellion shook the realms above,
 Th' undaunted guard of cloud-compelling *Jove*.
 When the bright partner of his awful reign,
 The warlike maid, and monarch of the main,
 The Traytor-Gods, by mad ambition driv'n, 520
 Durst threat with chains th' omnipotence of heav'n.
 Then call'd by thee, the monster *Titan* came,
 (Whom Gods *Briareus*, Men *Ægeon* name)
 Thro' wond'ring skies enormous stalk'd along;
 Not * he that shakes the solid earth so strong: 525
 With giant-pride at *Jove's* high throne he stands,
 And brandish'd round him all his hundred hands:
 Th' affrighted Gods confess'd their awful lord,
 They dropt the fetters, trembled and ador'd.

H. 3.

This,

* *Neptune.*

from heaven, and *Jove's* threatening the inferior Gods with *Tartarus*, but as so many hints of scripture faintly imitated. But it seems not improbable that the wars of the Gods, described by the Poets, allude to the confusion of the elements before they were brought into their natural order. It is almost generally agreed that by *Jupiter* is meant the *Æther*, and by *Juno* the *Air*: The ancient Philosophers supposed the *Æther* to be igneous, and by its kind influence upon the *Air* to be the cause of all vegetation: Therefore *Homer* says, in the 14th *Iliad*, That upon *Jupiter's* embracing his wife, the earth put forth its plants. Perhaps by *Thetis's* assisting *Jupiter*, may be meant, that the watry element, subsiding and taking its natural place, put an end to this combat of the elements.

V. 523. *Whom Gods Briareus, Men Ægeon name.*] This manner of making the Gods speak a language different from men (which is frequent in *Homer*) is a circumstance that, as far as it widens the distinction between divine and human natures, so far might tend to heighten the reverence paid the Gods. But besides this, as the difference is thus told in Poetry, it is of use to the Poets themselves: For it appears like a kind of testimony of their inspiration, or their converse with the Gods, and thereby gives a majesty to their works.

This, Goddess, this to his remembrance call, 530
 Embrace his knees, at his tribunal fall;
 Conjure him far to drive the *Grecian* train,
 To hurl them headlong to their fleet and main,
 To heap the shores with copious death, and bring
 The *Greeks* to know the curse of such a King: 535
 Let *Agamemnon* lift his haughty head
 O'er all his wide dominion of the dead,
 And mourn in blood, that e'er he durst disgrace
 The boldest warrior of the *Grecian* race.

Unhappy son! (fair *Thetis* thus replies, 540
 While tears celestial trickle from her eyes)
 Why have I borne thee with a mother's throes,
 To fates averse, and nurs'd for future woes?
 So short a space the light of heav'n to view!
 So short a space! and fill'd with sorrow too! 545
 O might a parent's careful wish prevail,
 Far, far from *Ilium* should thy vessels sail,
 And thou, from camps remote, the danger shun,
 Which now, alas! too nearly threatens my son.
 Yet (what I can) to move thy suit I'll go, 550
 To great *Olympus* crown'd with fleecy snow.
 Mean time, secure within thy ships from far
 Behold the field, nor mingle in the war.
 The Sire of Gods, and all th' æthereal train,
 On the warm limits of the farthest main, 555
 Now mix with mortals, nor disdain to grace
 The feasts of *Æthiopia's* blameless race:

Twelve

V. 557. *The feasts of Æthiopia's blameless race.*] The *Æthiopians*, says *Diodorus*, l. 3. are said to be the inventors of pomps, sacrifices, solemn meetings, and other honours paid to the Gods. From hence arose their character of piety, which is
 here

Twelve days the pow'rs indulge the genial rite,
 Returning with the twelfth revolving light.
 Then will I mount the brazen dome, and move 560
 The high tribunal of immortal Jove.

The Goddess spoke : The rolling waves uncloſe ;
 Then down the deep ſhe plung'd, from whence ſhe roſe.
 And left him ſorrowing on the lonely coaſt,
 In wild reſentment for the fair he loſt. 565.

In *Chryſa's* port now ſage *Ulyſſes* rode ;
 Beneath the deck the deſtin'd victims ſtow'd ;
 The ſails they furl'd, they laſh'd the maſt aſide,
 And dropt their anchors, and the pinnace ty'd.
 Next on the ſhore their hecatomb they land, 570
Chryſeis laſt deſcending on the ſtrand.

H 4.

Her.

here celebrated by *Homer*. Among theſe there was an annual feaſt at *Diſpolis*, which *Euſtathius* mentions, wherein they carried about the ſtatues of *Jupiter* and the other Gods, for twelve days, according to their number : to which if we add the ancient cuſtom of ſetting meat before ſtatues, it will appear a rite from which this fable might eaſily ariſe. But it would be a great miſtake to imagine from this place that *Homer* repreſents the Gods as eating and drinking upon earth : a groſs notion he was never guilty of, as appears from theſe verſes in the fifth book, v. 340.

Ἰχῶρ οἶός περ τε ρῆει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσιν ;
 Οὐ γὰρ σίτον ἔδουσ', ἔ πίνουσ' αἰθοπα οἶνον,
 Τῆνικ' ἀναιμόνεις ἴσι, καὶ ἀθάνατοι καλίοισι.

(For not the bread of man their life ſuſtains,
 Nor wine's inflaming juice ſupplies their veins.)

Macrobius would have it, that by *Jupiter* here is meant the ſun, and that the number *twelve* hints at the twelve ſigns ; but whatever may be ſaid in a critical defence of this opinion, I believe the reader will be ſatisfied that *Homer*, conſidered as a Poet, would have his machinery underſtood upon that ſyſtem of the Gods which is properly *Grecian*.

One

Her, thus returning from the furrow'd main,
Ulysses led to *Phæbus*' sacred fane ;
 Where at his solemn altar, as the maïd
 He gave to *Chryses*, thus the Hero said, 575

Hail, rev'rend priest ! to *Phæbus*' awful dome
 A suppliant I from great *Atrides* come :
 Unransom'd here receive the spotless fair ;
 Accept the hecatomb the *Greeks* prepare ;
 And may thy God who scatters darts around, 580
 Aton'd by sacrifice, desist to wound.

At this, the Sire embrac'd the maid again,
 So sadly lost, so lately fought in vain.
 Then near the altar of the dast'ing King,
 Dispos'd in rank their hecatomb they bring : 585
 With water purify their hands, and take
 The sacred off'ring of the salted cake ;
 While thus with arms devoutly rais'd in air,
 And solemn voice, the Priest directs his pray'r.

God of the silver bow, they ear incline, 590
 Whose pow'r encircles *Cilla* the divine ;
 Whose sacred eye thy *Tenedos* surveys,
 And gilds fair *Chrysa* with distinguish'd rays !
 If, fir'd to vengeance at thy priest's request,
 Thy direful darts inflict the raging pest ; 595
 Once more attend ! avert the wasteful woe,
 And smile propitious, and unbend thy bow.

So

One may take notice here, that it were to be wished some passages were found in any authentic author, that might tell us the time of the year when the *Æthiopians* kept this festival at *Diopelid* : For from thence one might determine the precise season of the year wherein the actions of the *Iliad* are represented to have happened ; and perhaps by that means farther explain the beauty and propriety of many passages in the Poem.

So *Chryses* pray'd, *Apollo* heard his pray'r :
 And now the *Greeks* their hecatomb prepare ;
 Between their horns the salted barley threw, 600
 And with their heads to heav'n the victims flew :
 The limbs they sever from th' inclosing hide ;
 The thighs, selected to the Gods, divide :
 On these, in double cawls involv'd with art,
 The choicest morsels lay from ev'ry part. 605

H 5.

The

V. 600. *The sacrifice.*] If we consider this passage, it is not made to shine in poetry : All that can be done is to give it numbers, and endeavour to set the particulars in a distinct view. But if we take it in another light, and as a piece of learning, it is valuable for being the most exact account of the ancient sacrifices any where left us. There is first the purification, by washing of hands : Secondly the offering up of Prayers : Thirdly the *Mola*, or barley cakes thrown upon the victim : Fourthly the manner of killing it with the head turned up to the celestial Gods (as they turned it downwards when they offered to the infernals :) Fifthly their selecting the thighs and fat for their Gods as the best of the sacrifice, and the disposing about them pieces cut from every part for a representation of the whole ; (hence the thighs, or *μῆλα*, are frequently used in *Homer* and the *Greek* Poets for the whole victim :) Sixthly the libation of wine : Seventhly the consuming the thighs in the fire of the altar : Eighthly the sacrificers dressing and feasting on the rest, with joy and hymns to the Gods. Thus punctually have the ancient poets, and in particular *Homer*, written with a care and respect to religion. One may question whether any country, as much a stranger to christianity as we are to heathenism, might be so well informed by our Poets in the worship belonging to any profession of religion at present.

I am obliged to take notice how entirely *Mr. Dryden* has mistaken the sense of this passage, and the custom of antiquity ; for in his translation, the cakes are thrown into the fire instead of being cast on the victim ; the sacrificers are made to eat the thighs and whatever belonged to the Gods ; and no part of the victim is consumed for a burnt-offering, so that in effect there is no sacrifice at all. Some of the mistakes (particularly that of turning the roast meat on the spits, which was not known in *Homer's* days) he was led into by *Chapman's* translation.

The Priest himself before his altar stands,
And burns the off'ring with his holy hands,
Pours the black wine, and sees the flame aspire ;
The youth with instruments surround the fire :
The thighs thus sacrific'd, and intrails drest, 610
Th' assistants part, transfix, and roast the rest :
Then spread the tables, the repast prepare,
Each takes his seat, and each receives his share.
When now the rage of hunger was repress'd,
With pure libations they conclude the feast ; 615
The youths with wine the copious goblets crown'd,
And pleas'd, dispense the flowing bowls around.
With hymns divine the joyous banquet ends,
'The *Pæans* lengthen'd, 'till the sun descends :
The *Greeks* restor'd, the grateful notes prolong ; 620
Apollo listens, and approves the song.

'Twas night ; the Chiefs beside their vessel lie,
'Till rosy morn had purpled o'er the sky :
Then launch and hoise the mast ; indulgent gales,
Supply'd by *Phæbus*, fill the swelling sails ; 625
The milk-white canvas bellying as they blow,
The parted ocean foams and roars below :
Above the bounding billows swift they flew,
'Till now the *Grecian* camp appear'd in view.
Far on the beach they haul their bark to land, 630
(The crooked keel divides the yellow sand)
Then part, where stretch'd along the winding bay
The ships and tents in mingled prospect lay.

But raging still amidst his navy fate
The stern *Achilles*, stedfast in his hate ; 635
Nor mix'd in combat, nor in council join'd ;
But wasting cares lay heavy on his mind :

In

In his black thoughts revenge and slaughter roll,
And scenes of blood rise dreadful in his soul. 639

Twelve days were past, and now the dawning light
The Gods had summon'd to th' *Olympian* height:

Jove first ascending from the wat'ry bow'rs,

Leads the long order of th' æthereal pow'rs.

When like a morning mist, in early day,

Rose from the flood the daughter of the sea; 645

And to the seats divine her flight address'd.

There, far apart, and high above the rest,

The Thund'rer sat; where old *Olympus* shrouds

His hundred heads in Heav'n, and props the clouds.

Suppliant the Goddess stood: One hand she plac'd 650

Beneath his beard, and one his knees embrac'd.

If e'er, O father of the Gods! she said,

My words cou'd please thee, or my actions aid;

Some marks of honour on my son bestow,

And pay in glory what in life you owe. 655

Fame is at least by heav'nly promise due

To life so short, and now dishonour'd too.

Avenge this wrong, oh ever just and wise!

Let *Greece* be humbled, and the *Trojans* rise;

'Till the proud King, and all th' *Achaian* race 660

Shall heap with honours him they now disgrace.

Thus *Thetis* spoke, but *Jove* in silence held

The sacred councils of his breast conceal'd.

Not so repuls'd, the Goddess closer press'd,

Still grasp'd his knees, and urg'd the dear request. 665

O Sire of Gods and Men! thy suppliant hear,

Refuse, or grant; for what has *Jove* to fear?

Or oh! declare of all the pow'rs above

Is wretched *Thetis* least the care of *Jove*?

She

She said, and sighing thus the God replies, 670
Who rolls the thunder o'er the vaulted skies.

What hast thou ask'd? Ah why should *Jove* engage
In foreign contests, and domestic rage,
The Gods complaints, and *Juno's* fierce alarms,
While I, too partial, aid the *Trojan* arms? 675
Go, lest the haughty partner of my sway,
With jealous eyes thy close access survey;
But part in peace, secure thy pray'r is sped:
Witness the sacred honours of our head,
The nod that ratifies the will divine, 680
The faithful, fix'd, irrevocable sign;
This seals thy suit, and this fulfils thy vows —
He spoke, and awful bends his sable brows;
Shakes his ambrosial curls, and gives the nod;
The stamp of fate, and sanction of the God: 685
High

V. 681. *The faithful, fix'd, irrevocable sign.*] There are among men three things by which the efficacy of a promise may be made void; the design not to perform it, the want of power to bring it to pass, and the instability of our tempers; from all which *Homer* saw that the divinity must be exempted, and therefore he describes the *nod*, or ratification of *Jupiter's* word, as *faithful*, in opposition to *fraud*; *sure* of being performed, in opposition to *weakness*; and *irrevocable*, in opposition to our *repenting* of a promise. *Eustathius*.

V. 683. *He spoke, and awful bends.*] This description of the Majesty of *Jupiter* has something exceedingly grand and venerable. *Macrobius* reports, that *Phidias* having made his *Olympian Jupiter*, which pass for one of the greatest miracles of art, was asked from what pattern he fram'd so divine a figure, and answered, it was from that archetype which he found in these lines of *Homer*. The same author has also taken notice of *Virgil's* imitating it, l. 1.

*Dixerat, idque ratum Stygii per flumina fratris,
Per pice torrentes atrâque voragine ripas;
Annuit, & totum nutu tremefecit Olympum.*

Here

High Heav'n with trembling the dread signal took,
And all *Olympus* to the centre shook.

Swift to the seas profound the Goddess flies,
Jove to his starry mansion in the skies.
The shining synod of th' immortals wait 690
The coming God, and from their thrones of state
Arising silent, wrapt in holy fear,
Before the Majesty of Heav'n appear.
Trembling they stand, while *Jove* assumes the throne,
All, but the God's imperious Queen alone. 695
Late had she view'd the silver-footed dame,
And all her passions kindled into flame.
Say, artful manager of heav'n (she cries)
Who now partakes the secrets of the skies?

Thy

Here indeed he has preserv'd the *nod* with its stupendous effect, the making the heavens tremble. But he has neglected the description of the eye-brows and the hair, those chief pieces of imagery, from whence the artist took the idea of a countenance proper for the King of Gods and Men.

Thus far *Macrobius*, whom *Scaliger* answers in this manner ;
*Aut ludunt Phidiam, aut nos ludit Phidias : Etiam sine Homero
puto illum scisse, Jovem non carere superciliis & casarie.*

V. 694. *Jove assumes the throne.*] As *Homer* makes the first council of his men to be one continued scene of anger, whereby the *Grecian* chiefs became divided, so he makes the first meeting of the Gods to be spent in the same passion ; whereby *Jupiter* is more fixed to assist the *Trojans*, and *Juno* more incens'd against them. Thus the design of the Poem goes on : The anger which began the book overspreads all existent beings by the latter end of it : Heaven and earth become engaged in the subject, by which it rises to a great importance in the reader's eyes, and is hastened forward into the briskest scenes of action that can be framed upon that violent passion.

V. 698. *Say, artful manager.*] The Gods and Goddesses being described with all the desires and pleasures, the passions and humours of mankind, the commentators have taken a licence from thence to draw not only moral observations, but
also

Thy *Juno* knows not the decrees of fate, 700

In vain the partner of imperial state.

What fav'rite Goddess then those cares divides,

Which *Jove* in prudence from his consort hides?

To this the Thund'rer: Seek not thou to find

The sacred counsels of almighty mind; 705

Involv'd in darkness lies the great decree,

Nor can the depths of fate be pierc'd by thee.

What

also satyrical reflections out of this part of the Poet. These I am sorry to see fall so hard upon womankind, and all by *Juno's* means. Sometimes she procures them a lesson for their curiosity and unquietness, and at other times for their loud and vexatious tempers: *Juno* deserves them on the one hand, *Jupiter* thunders them out on the other, and the learned gentlemen are very particular in enlarging with remarks on both sides. In her first speech they make the Poet describe the inquisitive temper of womankind in general, and their restlessness if they are not admitted into every secret. In his answer to this, they trace those methods of grave remonstrance by which it is proper for husbands to calm them. In her reply, they find it is the nature of women to be more obstinate for being yielded to: And in his second return to her, they see the last method to be used with them upon failure of the first, which is the exercise of sovereign authority.

Mr. *Dryden* has translated all this with the utmost severity upon the Ladies, and spirited the whole with satyrical additions of his own. But Madam *Dacier* (who has elsewhere animadverted upon the good Bishop of *Theſſalonica* for his sage admonitions against the fair sex) has not taken the least notice of this general defection from complaisance in all the commentators. She seems willing to give the whole passage a more important turn, and incline us to think that *Homer* designed to represent the folly and danger of prying into the secrets of Providence. 'Tis thrown into that air in this translation, not only as it is more noble and instructive in general, but as it is more respectful to the Ladies in particular; nor should we (any more than Madam *Dacier*) have mentioned what those old fellows have said, but to desire their protection against some modern criticks their disciples, who may arraign this proceeding.

What fits thy knowledge, thou the first shalt know :
 The first of Gods above, and Men below :
 But thou, nor they, shall search the thoughts that roll
 Deep in the close recesses of my soul. 710

Full on the Sire the Goddesses of the skies
 Roll'd the large orbs of her majestic eyes,
 And thus return'd. *Austere Saturnius*, say,
 From whence this wrath, or who controuls thy sway ?
 Thy boundless will, for me, remains in force, 715
 And all thy counsels take the destin'd course.
 But 'tis for *Greece* I fear : For late was seen
 In close consult the silver-footed Queen.
Jove to his *Thetis* nothing could deny, 720
 Nor was the signal vain that shook the sky.
 What fatal favour has the Goddess won,
 To grace her fierce inexorable son ?
 Perhaps in *Grecian* blood to drench the plain,
 And glut his vengeance with my people slain. 725
 Then thus the God : Oh restless fate of pride,
 That strives to learn what heav'n resolves to hide ;
 Vain is the search, presumptuous and abhorr'd,
 Anxious to thee, and odious to thy Lord.

Let

V. 713. *Roll'd the large orbs.*] The *Greek* is Βοῶπις πότνια
 Ἥρα, which is commonly translated *the venerable ox-eyed Juno*.
 Madam *Dacier* very well observes that βῶ is only an aug-
 mentative particle, and signifies no more than *valde*. It may
 be added, that the imagination that oxen have larger eyes
 than ordinary is ill-grounded, and has no foundation in truth ;
 their eyes are no larger in proportion than those of men, or
 of most other animals. But be it as it will, the design of the
 Poet, which is only to express the largeness of her eyes, is
 answered in the paraphrase.

V. 741.

Let this suffice; th' immutable decree. 730

No force can shake: What *is*, that *ought* to be.

Goddess, submit, nor dare our will withstand,

But dread the pow'r of this avenging hand;

Th' united strength of all the Gods above.

In vain resists th' omnipotence of *Jove*. 735

The Thund'rer spoke, nor durst the Queen reply,

A rev'rend horror silenc'd all the sky.

The feast disturb'd, with sorrow *Vulcan* saw,

His mother menac'd, and the Gods in awe;

Peace at his heart, and pleasure his design, 740

Thus interpos'd the architect divine.

The wretched quarrels of the mortal state

Are far unworthy, Gods! of your debate:

Let men their days in senseless strife employ,

We, in eternal peace, and constant joy. 745

Thou, Goddess-mother, with our fire comply.

Nor break the sacred union of the sky:

Left,

V. 741. *Thus interpos'd the Architect divine.*] This quarrel of the Gods being come to its height, the Poet makes *Vulcan* interpose, who freely puts them in mind of pleasure, inoffensively advises *Juno*, illustrates his advice by an example of his own misfortune, turning the jest on himself, to enliven the banquet; and concludes the part he is to support with serving *Nectar* about. *Homer* had here his *Minerva* or *Wisdom* to interpose again, and every other quality of the mind resided in Heaven under the appearance of some Deity: So that his introducing *Vulcan*, proceeded not from a want of choice, but an insight into nature. He knew that a friend to mirth often diverts or stops quarrels, especially when he contrives to submit himself to the laugh, and prevails on the angry to part in good humour, or in a disposition to friendship; when grave representations are sometimes reproaches, sometimes lengthen the debate by occasioning defences, and sometimes introduce new parties into the consequences of it.

Left, rous'd to rage, he shake the blest abodes,
 Launch the red lightning and dethrone the Gods.
 If you submit, the Thund'rer stands pleas'd; 750
 The gracious pow'r is willing to be pleas'd.

Thus *Vulcan* spoke; and rising with a bound,
 The double bowl with sparkling *Nectar* crown'd,
 Which held to *Juno* in a chearful way,
 Goddess (he cry'd) be patient and obey. 755
 Dear as you are, if *Jove* his arm extend,
 I can but grieve, unable to defend.
 What God so daring in your aid to move,
 Or lift his hand against the force of *Jove*?
 Once in your cause I felt his matchless might, 760
 Hurl'd headlong downward from th' ethereal height;
 Toft all the day in rapid circles round;
 Nor 'till the Sun descended, touch'd the ground:
 Breathless I fell, in giddy motion lost;
 The *Sinthians* rais'd me on the *Lemnian* coast. 765

He said, and to her hands the goblet heav'd,
 Which, with a smile, the white-arm'd Queen receiv'd.
 Then

V. 760. *Once in his cause I felt his matchless might.*] They who search another vein of allegory for hidden knowledge in natural Philosophy, have considered *Jupiter* and *Juno* as *Heaven* and the *Air*, whose alliance is interrupted when the air is troubled above, but restored again when it is cleared by heat, or *Vulcan* the God of Heat. Him they call'd a divine artificer, from the activity or general use of fire in working. They suppose him to be born in Heaven, where Philosophers say that element has its proper place; and is thence derived to the earth, which is signified by the fall of *Vulcan*; that he fell in *Lemnos*, because that island abounds with subterranean fires; and that he contracted a lameness or imperfection by the fall; the fire not being so pure and active below, but mixed and terrestrial. *Eustathius.*

V. 767. *Which, with a smile, the white-arm'd Queen receiv'd.*] The epithet λευκώλενος, or white-arm'd, is used by *Homer* several

Then to the rest he fill'd; and, in his turn,
Each to his lips apply'd the nectar'd urn.

Vulcan with aukward grace his office plies, 770
And unextinguish'd laughter shakes the skies.

Thus the blest Gods the genial day prolong,
In feasts ambrosial, and celestial song.

Apollo tun'd the lyre; the Muses round
With voice alternate aid the silver sound. 775

Mean time the radiant Sun, to mortal sight
Descending swift, roll'd down the rapid light.

Then to their starry domes the Gods depart,

The shining monuments of *Vulcan's* art:

Jove

several times before, in this book. This was the first passage where it could be introduced with any ease or grace; because the action she is here described in, of extending her arm to the cup, gives it an occasion of displaying its beauties, and in a manner demands the epithet.

V. 771. *Laughter shakes the skies.*] *Vulcan* designed to move laughter by taking upon him the office of *Hebe* and *Ganymede*, with his aukward limping carriage. But though he prevailed, and *Homer* tells you the Gods did laugh, yet he takes care not to mention a word of his lameness. It would have been cruel in him, and wit out of season, to have enlarged with derision upon an imperfection which is out of one's power to remedy. According to this good-natured opinion of *Eustathius*, Mr. *Dryden* has treated *Vulcan* a little barbarously. He makes his character perfectly comical, he is the jest of the board, and the Gods are very merry upon the imperfections of his figure. *Chapman* led him into this error in general, as well as into some indecencies of expression in particular, which will be seen upon comparing them.

For what concerns the laughter attributed here to the Gods, see the Notes on lib. 5. v. 517.

V. 778. *Then to their starry domes.*] The astrologers assign twelve houses to the Planets, wherein they are said to have dominion. Now because *Homer* tells us *Vulcan* built a mansion for every God, the ancients write that he first gave occasion for this doctrine.

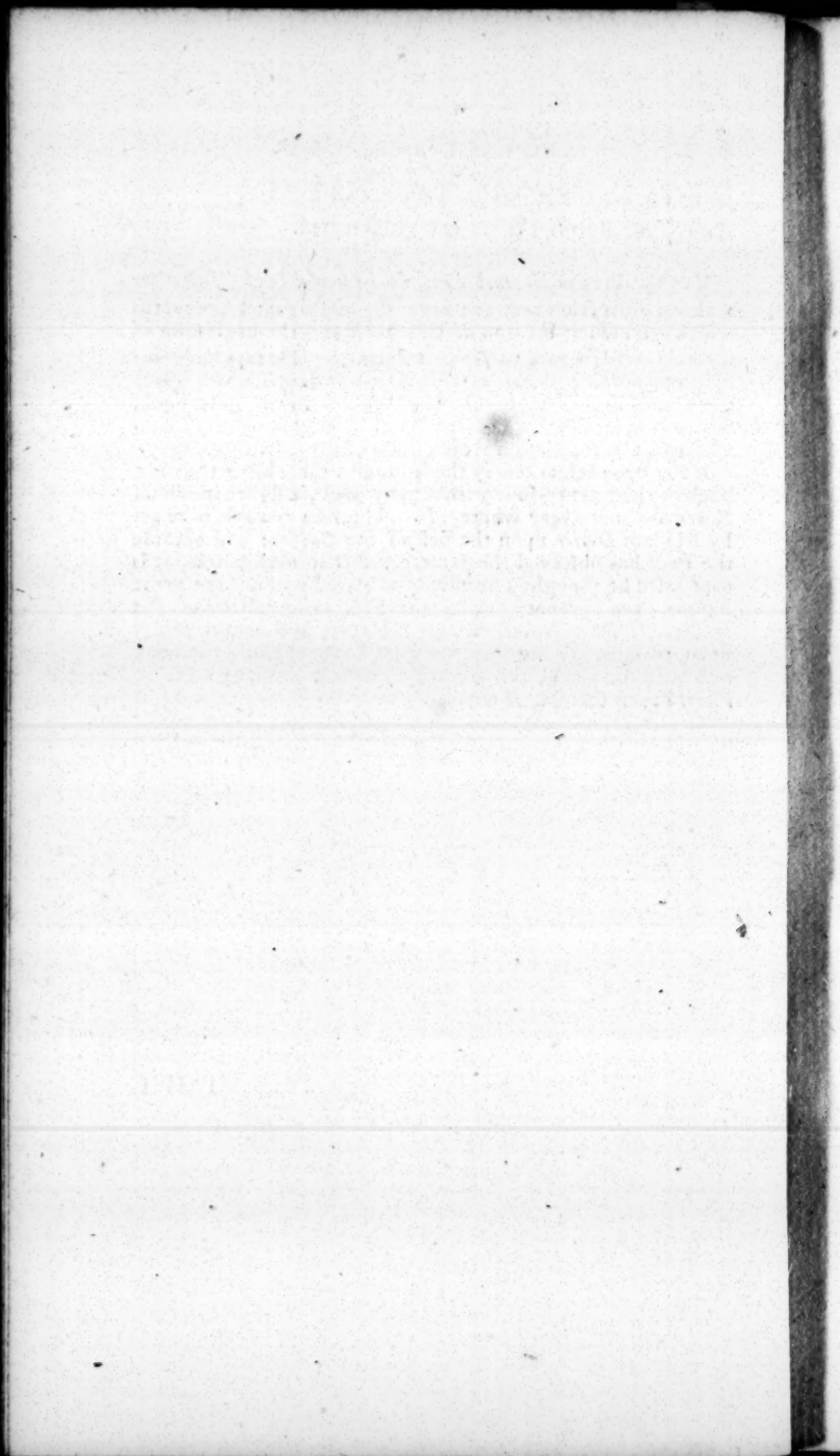
Jove on his couch reclin'd his awful head,
And *Juno* slumber'd on the golden bed.

780

V. 780 *Jove on his couch'd reclin'd his awful head.*] *Eustathius* makes a distinction between *καθεύδεν* and *ὕπνῃ*; the words which are used at the end of this book and the beginning of the next, with regard to *Jupiter's* sleeping. He says *καθεύδεν* only means lying down in a disposition to sleep; which solves the contradiction that else would follow in the next book, where it is said *Jupiter* did not sleep. I only mention this to vindicate the translation which differs from *Mr. Dryden's*.

It has been remarked by the scholiasts, that this is the only book of the twenty-four without any *simile*, a figure in which *Homer* abounds every where else. The like remark is made by *Madam Dacier* upon the first of the *Odyssey*; and because the Poet has observed the same conduct in both works, it is concluded he thought a simplicity of style, without the great figures, was proper during the first information of the reader. This observation may be true, and admits of refined reasonings; but for my part I cannot think the book had been the worse, tho' he had thrown in as many *similes* as *Virgil* has in the first *Æneid*.

THE





THE
SECOND BOOK
OF THE
ILIAD.



THE ARGUMENT.

The trial of the army and catalogue of the forces.

JUPITER, in pursuance of the request of Thetis, sends a deceitful vision to Agamemnon, persuading him to lead the army to battle ; in order to make the Greeks sensible of the want of Achilles. The General, who is deluded with the hopes of taking Troy without his assistance, but fears the army was discouraged by his absence and the late plague, as well as by length of time, contrives to make trial of their disposition by a stratagem. He first communicates his design to the Princes in council, that he would propose a return to the soldiers, and that they should put a stop to them if the proposal was embraced. Then he assembles the whole host, and upon moving for a return to Greece, they unanimously agree to it, and run to prepare the ships. They are detained by the management of Ulysses, who chastises the insolence of Therfites. The assembly is recalled, several speeches made on the occasion, and at length the advice of Nestor followed, which was to make a general muster of the troops, and to divide them into their several nations, before they proceeded to battle. This gives occasion to the Poet to enumerate all the forces of the Greeks and Trojans, in a large catalogue.

The time employed in this book consists not entirely of one day. The scene lies in the Grecian camp and upon the sea-shore ; toward the end it removes to Troy.

THE

T H E
SECOND BOOK
OF THE
I L I A D.

NOW pleasing sleep had seal'd each mortal eye,
Stretch'd in the tents the *Grecian* leaders lie,
Th' immortals slumber'd on their thrones above;
All, but the ever-wakeful eyes of *Jove*.
To honour *Thetis'* son he bends his care, 5
And plunge the *Greeks* in all the woes of war :

Then

V. 1. *Now pleasing sleep, &c.*] *Aristotle* tells us, in the twenty-sixth chapter of his art of poetry, that this place had been objected to by some critics in those times. They thought it gave a very ill idea of the military discipline of the *Greeks*, to represent a whole army unguarded, and all the Leaders asleep: They also pretended it was ridiculous to describe all the Gods sleeping besides *Jupiter*. To both these *Aristotle* answers, that nothing is more usual or allowable than that figure which puts *all* for the *greater part*. One may add with respect to the latter Criticism, that nothing could give a better image of the superiority of *Jupiter* to the other Gods (or of the supreme Being to all second causes) than the vigilancy here ascribed to him, over all things divine and human.

V. 9.

Then bids an empty Phantom rise to fight :
And thus commands the vision of the night.

Fly hence, deluding *Dream* ! and light as air,
To *Agamemnon*'s ample tent repair. 10
Bid him in arms draw forth th' embattel'd train,
Lead all his *Grecians* to the dusty plain.
Declare, ev'n now 'tis giv'n him to destroy
The lofty tow'rs of wide-extended *Troy*.
For now no more the Gods with fate contend, 15
At *Juno*'s suit the heav'nly factions end.

Destruction

V. 9. *Fly hence, deluding Dream.*] It appears from *Aristotle*, *Poet. cap. 26.* that *Homer* was accused of impiety, for making *Jupiter* the author of a lye in this passage. It seems there were anciently these words in his speech to the dream ; *Δίδομεν δὲ οἱ εὖχος ἀπέσθαι*, *Let us give him great glory.* Instead of which we have in the present copies, (*Γράσσοι δὲ καὶ ἐφῆπται*) ; but *Heppias* found a way to bring off *Homer*, only by placing the accent on the last syllable but one, *Δίδομεν*, for *Δίδόμεναι*, the infinitive for the imperative ; which amounts to no more than he bade the dream to promise him great glory. But *Macrobius de Somnio Scip. l. 1. c. 7.* takes off this imputation entirely, and will not allow there was any lye in the case. “ *Agamemnon* (says he) was ordered “ by the dream to lead out all the forces of the *Greeks*, “ (*Πανσυνδιῆ* is the word) and promised the victory on that “ condition : Now *Achilles* and his forces not being summoned to the assembly with the rest, that neglect absolved “ *Jupiter* from his promise.” This remark *Madam Dacier* has inserted without mentioning its author. *Mr. Dacier* takes notice of a passage in scripture exactly parallel to this, where God is represented making use of the malignity of his creatures to accomplish his judgments. 'Tis in 2 *Chron. ch. 18. v. 19, 20, 21.* *And the Lord said, Who will persuade Ahab, that he may go up and fall at Ramoth Gilead ? And there came forth a spirit, and stood before the Lord, and said, I will persuade him. And the Lord said unto him, Wherewith ? And he said, I will go forth, and I will be a lying spirit in the mouth of all his Prophets. And he said, Thou shalt persuade him, and prevail also : Go forth and do so.* Vide *Dacier* upon *Aristotle*, cap. 26.

V. 20.

Deſtruction hangs o'er yon' devoted wall,
And nodding *Ilion* waits th' impending fall.

Swift as the word the vain illuſion fled,
Deſcends, and hovers o'er *Atrides'* head; 20
Cloath'd in the figure of the *Pylian* Sage,
Renown'd for wiſdom, and rever'd for age;
Around his temples ſpreads his golden wing,
And thus the flatt'ring dream deceives the King.

Canſt thou, with all a Monarch's cares oppreſt, 25
Oh *Atreus'* ſon! canſt thou indulge thy reſt?
Ill ſits a chief who mighty nations guides,
Direc'ts in council, and in war preſides,
To whom its ſafety a whole people owes,
To waſte long nights in indolent repoſe. 30
Monarch, awake! 'tis *Jove's* command I bear,
Thou, and thy glory, claim his heav'nly care.
In juſt array draw forth th' embattel'd train,
Lead all thy *Grecians* to the duſty plain;

VOL. I.

I

Ev'n

V. 20. *Deſcends, and hovers o'er Atrides' head.*] The whole action of the *dream* is beautifully natural, and agreeable to philoſophy. It perches on his head, to intimate that part to be the ſeat of the ſoul: It is circumfuſed about him, to expreſs that total poſſeſſion of the ſenſes which fancy has during our ſleep. It takes the figure of the perſon who was deareſt to *Agamemnon*; as whatever we think of moſt, when awake, is the common object of our dreams. And juſt at the inſtant of its vaniſhing, it leaves ſuch an impreſſion, that the voice ſeems ſtill to ſound in his ear. No deſcription can be more exact or lively. *Euſtathius, Dacier.*

V. 33. *Draw forth th' embattel'd train, &c.*] The dream here repeats the meſſage of *Jupiter* in the ſame terms that he received it. It is no leſs than the Father of Gods and Men who gives the order, and to alter a word were preſumption. *Homer* conſtantly makes his envoys obſerve this practice as a mark of decency and reſpect. *Madam Dacier* and others have applauded this in general, and aſked by what authority an

Ev'n now, O King, 'tis giv'n thee to destroy 35

The lofty tow'rs of wide-extended *Troy*.

For now no more the Gods with fate contend,

At *Juno's* suit the heav'nly factions end.

Destruction hangs o'er yon' devoted wall,

And nodding *Ilion* waits th' impending fall. 40

Awake, but waking this advice approve,

And trust the vision that descends from *Jove*.

The Phantom said; then vanish'd from his sight,

Resolves to air, and mixes with the night.

A thousand schemes the Monarch's mind employ; 45

Elate in thought, he sacks untaken *Troy* :

Vain as he was, and to the future blind ;

Now saw what *Jove* and secret fate design'd,

What mighty toils to either host remain,

What scenes of grief, and numbers of the slain ! 50

Eager

an ambassador could alter the terms of his commission, since he is not greater or wiser than the person who gave the charge ? But this is not always the case in our author, who not only makes use of this conduct with respect to the orders of a higher power, but in regard to equals also ; as when one Goddess desires another to represent such an affair, and she immediately takes the words from her mouth and repeats them, of which we have an instance in this book. Some objection too may be raised to this manner, when commissions are given in the utmost haste (in a battle or the like) upon sudden emergencies, where it seems not very natural to suppose a man has time to get so many words by heart as he is made to repeat exactly. In the present instance, the repetition is certainly graceful, tho' *Zenodotus* thought it not so the third time, when *Agamemnon* tells his dream to the council. I do not pretend to decide upon the point : For tho' the reverence of the repetition seemed less needful in that place, than when it was delivered immediately from *Jupiter* ; yet (as *Eustathius* observes) it was necessary for the assembly to know the circumstances of this dream, that the truth of the relation might be unsuspected.

Eager he rises, and in fancy hears
The voice celestial murm'ring in his ears.
First on his limbs a slender vest he drew,
Around him next the regal mantle threw,
Th' embroider'd sandals on his feet were ty'd ; 55
The starry faulchion glitter'd at his side ;
And last his arm the massy sceptre loads,
Unstain'd, immortal, and the gift of Gods.

Now rosy morn ascends the court of *Jove*,
Lifts up her light, and opens day above. 60
The King dispatch'd his heralds with commands
To range the camp, and summon all the bands :
The gath'ring hosts the monarch's word obey :
While to the fleet *Atrides* bends his way.
In his black ship the *Pylian* Prince he found ; 65
There calls a Senate of the Peers around :
Th' assembly plac'd, the King of men express
The counsels lab'ring in his artful breast.

Friends and Confed'rates ! with attentive ear
Receive my words, and credit what you hear. 70
Late as I slumber'd in the shades of night,
A dream divine appear'd before my sight ;
Whose visionary form like *Nestor* came,
The same in habit, and in mein the same.
The heav'nly Phantom hover'd o'er my head, 75
And, dost thou sleep, Oh *Atreus'* son ? (he said)
Ill fits a Chief who mighty nations guides,
Directs in council, and in war presides,
To whom its safety a whole people owes ;
To waste long nights in indolent repose. 80
Monarch, awake ! 'tis *Jove's* command I bear,
Thou and thy glory claim his heav'nly care ;

In just array draw forth th' embattel'd train,
 And lead the *Grecians* to the dusty plain ;
 Ev'n now, O King ! 'tis giv'n thee to destroy 85
 The lofty tow'rs of wide-extended *Troy*.
 For now no more the Gods with fate contend,
 At *Juno's* suit the heav'nly factions end.
 Destruction hangs o'er yon' devoted wall,
 And nodding *Ilion* waits th' impending fall. 90
 This hear observant, and the Gods obey !
 The vision spoke, and past in air away.
 Now, valiant chiefs ! since heav'n itself alarms,
 Unite, and rouse the sons of *Greece* to arms.

But

V. 93. *Now, valiant chiefs, &c.*] The best commentary extant upon the first part of this book is in *Dionysius of Halycarnassus*, who has given us an admirable explication of this whole conduct of *Agamemnon* in his second treatise Περὶ ἱστορικῶν πραγμάτων. He says, " This Prince had nothing so much at heart as to draw the *Greeks* to a battle, yet knew not how to proceed without *Achilles*, who had just retired from the army; and was apprehensive that the *Greeks*, who were displeased at the departure of *Achilles*, might refuse obedience to his orders, should he absolutely command it. In this circumstance he proposes to the Princes in council to make a trial of arming the *Grecians*, and offers an expedient himself; which was, that he should sound their dispositions by exhorting them to set sail for *Greece*, but that then the other Princes should be ready to dissuade and detain them. If any object to this stratagem, that *Agamemnon's* whole scheme would be ruined if the army should take him at his word which was very probable) it is to be answered, that his design lay deeper than they imagine, nor did he depend upon his speech only for detaining them. He had some cause to fear the *Greeks* had a pique against him which they had concealed, and whatever it was, he judged it absolutely necessary to know it before he proceeded to a battle. He therefore furnishes them with an occasion to manifest it, and at the same time provides against any ill effects it might have by his secret orders to the Princes. It succeeds accordingly, and when

" the

But first, with caution, try what yet they dare, 95
Worn with nine years of unsuccessful war?

To move the troops to measure back the main,
Be mine; and yours the province to detain.

He spoke, and fate; when *Nestor* rising said,
(*Nestor*, whom *Pylos*' sandy realms obey'd) 100

Princes of *Greece*, your faithful ears incline,
Nor doubt the vision of the pow'rs divine;

Sent by great *Jove* to him who rules the host,
Forbid it, heav'n! this warning should be lost!

Then let us haste, obey the God's alarms, 105
And join to rouse the sons of *Greece* to arms.

Thus spoke the sage: The Kings without delay,
Dissolve the council, and their chief obey:

The sceptred rulers lead; the following host,
Pour'd forth by thousands, darkens all the coast. 110

As from some rocky cleft the shepherd sees
Clust'ring in heaps on heaps the driving bees,

I 3,

Rolling,

"the troops are running to embark, they are stopped by
" *Ulysses* and *Nestor*."—One may farther observe, that this
whole stratagem is concerted in *Nestor*'s ship, as one whose
wisdom and secrecy was most confided in. The story of the
vision's appearing in his shape, could not but engage him in
some degree: It look'd as if *Jupiter* himself added weight to
his counsels by making use of that venerable appearance,
and knew this to be the most powerful method of recom-
mending them to *Agamemnon*. It was therefore but natural
for *Nestor* to second the motion of the King, and by the help
of his authority it prevailed on the other Princes.

V. 111. *As from some rocky cleft.*] This is the first simile in
Homer, and we may observe in general that he excels all man-
kind in the number, variety, and beauty of his comparisons.
There are scarce any in *Virgil* which are not translated from
him, and therefore when he succeeds best in them, he is to
be commended but as an improver. *Scaliger* seems not to
have thought of this, when he compares the similes of these
two

Rolling, and black'ning, swarms succeeding swarms,
 With deeper murmurs and more hoarse alarms ;
 Dusky they spread, a close-embod' d croud, 115
 And o'er the vale descends the living cloud.
 So, from the tents and ships, a length'ning train
 Spreads all the beach, and wide o'er shades the plain :
 Along the region runs a deaf'ning found ;
 Beneath their footsteps groans the trembling ground.

Fame

two authors (as indeed they are the places most obvious to comparison). The present passage is an instance of it, to which he opposes the following verses in the first *Æneid*, v. 434.

*Qualis apes æstate novâ per florea rura
 Exercent sub sole labor, cum gentis adultos
 Educunt fœtus, aut cum liquentia mella
 Sumpunt, & dulci distendunt nectare cellas ;
 Aut onera accipiunt venientium, aut agmine facta
 Ignavum fucos pecus à præsepibus arcent.
 Fervet opus, redolentque thymo fragrantia mella.*

This he very much prefers to *Homer's*, and in particular extols the harmony and sweetness of the versification above that of our author ; against which censure we need only appeal to the ears of the reader.

Ἡὺτε ἔθνεα εἴσι μελίσσάων ἀδινάων,
 Πέτρῃ; ἐκ γλαφυρῆς αἰεὶ νέον ἐρχομενάων,
 Σοτρυδὸν δὲ πέτονται ἐπ' αὐθεσιν εἰαρινοῖσιν,
 Αἱ μὲν τ' ἐνθα ἄλις πιποτάται, αἱ δὲ τε ἐνθα, Ἔς.

But *Scaliger* was unlucky in his choice of this particular comparison : There is a very fine one in the sixth *Æneid*, v. 767. that better agrees with *Homer's* : And nothing is more evident than that the design of these two is very different : *Homer* intended to describe the multitude of *Greeks* pouring out of the ships, *Virgil* the diligence and labour of the builders at *Carthage*. And *Macrobius*, who observes this difference

Fame flies before, the messenger of *Jove*, 121
 And shining soars, and claps her wings above.
 Nine sacred heralds now proclaiming loud
 The monarch's will, suspend the list'ning crowd.
 Soon as the throngs in order rang'd appear, 125
 And fainter murmurs dy'd upon the ear,
 The King of Kings his awful figure rais'd ;
 High in his hand the golden sceptre blaz'd :
 The golden sceptre, of celestial frame,
 By *Vulcan* form'd, from *Jove* to *Hermes* came : 130
 To *Pelops* he th' immortal gift resign'd ;
 Th' immortal gift great *Pelops* left behind,

I 4

In

difference *Sat. l. 5. c. 11.* should also have found, that therefore the similes ought not to be compared together. The beauty of *Homer's* is not inferior to *Virgil's*, if we consider with what exactness it answers to its end. It consists of three particulars ; the vast number of the troops is express'd in the swarms, their tumultuous manner of issuing out of the ships, and the perpetual egression which seem'd without end, are imaged in the bees pouring out of the rock : and lastly, their dispersion over all the shore in their descending on the flowers in the vales. *Spondanus* was therefore mistaken when he thought the whole application of this comparison lay in the single word *ἰλαζδόν*, *caterwatim*, as *Chapman* has justly observed.

V. 121. *Fame flies before.*] This assembling of the army is full of beauties : The lively description of their overspreading the field, the noble boldness of the figure when *Fame* is represented in person shining at their head, the universal tumult succeeded by a solemn silence ; and lastly, the graceful rising of *Agamemnon*, all contribute to cast a majesty on this part. In the passage of the sceptre, *Homer* has found an artful and poetical manner of acquainting us with the high descent of *Agamemnon*, and celebrating the hereditary right of his family ; as well as finely hinted the original of his power to be derived from heaven, in saying the sceptre was first the gift of *Jupiter*. It is with reference to this, that in the line where he first mentions it, he calls it *Ἀφθίτον αἰεὶ*, and accordingly it is translated in that place.

V. 138.

In *Atreus*' hand, which not with *Atreus* ends,
To rich *Thyestes* next the prize descends :

And now the mark of *Agamemnon*'s reign, 135
Subjects all *Argos*, and controuls the main.

On this bright sceptre now the King reclin'd,
And artful thus pronounc'd the speech design'd ;
Ye sons of *Mars* ! partake your leader's care,
Heroes of *Greece*, and brothers of the war ! 140
Of

V. 138. *And artful thus pronounc'd the speech design'd.*] The remarks of *Dimysius* upon this speech I shall give the reader altogether, tho' they lie scattered in his two discourses *περὶ ἑσχηματισμένων*, the second of which is in a great degree a repetition of the precepts and examples of the first. This happened, I believe, from his having composed them at distinct times and upon different occasions.

“ it is an exquisite piece of art when you seem to aim at
“ persuading one thing, and at the same time inforce the
“ contrary. This kind of Rhetoric is of great use in all oc-
“ casions of danger, and of this *Homier* has afforded a most
“ powerful example in the oration of *Agamemnon*. 'Tis a
“ method perfectly wonderful, and even carries in it an
“ appearance of absurdity ; for all that we generally esteem
“ the faults of oratory, by this means become the virtues of
“ it. Nothing is looked upon as a greater error in a Rhetor-
“ ician than to alledge such arguments as either are easily
“ answered, or may be retorted upon himself ; the former
“ is a weak part, the latter a dangerous one ; and *Agamemnon*
“ here designedly deals in both. For it is plain that
“ if a man must not use weak arguments, or such as may
“ make against him, when he intends to persuade the thing
“ he says ; then on the other side when he does not intend
“ it, he must observe the contrary proceeding, and make
“ what are the faults of oratory in general, the excellencies
“ of that oration in particular, or otherwise he will contra-
“ dict his own intention, and persuade the contrary to what
“ he means. *Agamemnon* begins with an argument easily an-
“ swered, by telling them that *Jupiter* had promised to crown
“ his arms with victory. For if *Jupiter* had promised this, it
“ was a reason for the stay in the camp. But now (says he)
“ *Jove* has deceived us, and we must return with ignominy. This
“ is

Of partial *Jove* with justice I complain,
 And heav'nly oracles believ'd in vain.
 A safe return was promis'd to our toils,
 Renown'd, triumphant, and enrich'd with spoils,

I. 5

Now

"is another of the same kind, for it shews what a disgrace
 "it is to return. What follows is of the second sort, and
 "may be turned against him. *Jove* will have it so: for
 "which they have only *Agamemnon's* word, but *Jove's* own
 "promise to the contrary. *That God has overthrown many*
 "*cities, and will yet overturn many others.* This was a strong
 "reason to stay, and put their confidence in him. *It is*
 "*shameful to have it told to posterity, that so many thousand Greeks,*
 "*after a war of so long continuance, at last returned home baffled*
 "*and unsuccessful.* All this might have been said by a profest
 "adversary to the cause he pleads, and indeed is the same
 "thing *Ulysses* says elsewhere in reproach of their flight.
 "The conclusion evidently shews the intent of the speaker.
 "*Haste then, let us fly; Φεύγωμεν*, the word which of all
 "others was most likely to prevail upon them to stay; the
 "most open term of disgrace he could possibly have used:
 "Tis the same which *Juno* makes use of to *Minerva*, *Minerva*
 "to *Ulysses*, and *Ulysses* again to the troops to dissuade their
 "return; the same which *Agamemnon* himself had used to
 "insult *Achilles*, and which *Homer* never employs but with
 "the mark of cowardice and infamy."

The same author farther observes, "That this whole ora-
 "tion has the air of being spoken in a passion. It begins
 "with a stroke of the greatest rashness and impatience.
 "*Jupiter has been unjust, Heaven has deceived us.* This renders
 "all he shall say of the less authority, at the same time that
 "it conceals his own artifice; for his anger seems to account
 "for the incongruities he utters." I could not suppress so
 fine a remark, tho' it falls out of the order of those which
 precede it.

Before I leave this article, I must take notice that this
 speech of *Agamemnon* is again put into his mouth in the ninth
Iliad, and (according to *Dionysius*) for the same purpose, to
 detain the army at the siege after a defeat; though it seems
 unartful to put the same trick twice upon the *Greeks* by the
 same person, and in the same words too. We may indeed
 suppose the first feint to have remained undiscovered, but at
 best it is a management in the Poet not very entertaining to
 the readers.

Now shameful flight alone can save the host, 145
 Our blood, our treasure, and our glory lost.
 So *Jove* decrees, resistless Lord of all !
 At whose command whole empires rise or fall :
 He shakes the feeble props of human trust,
 And towns and armies humbles to the dust. 150
 What shame to *Greece* a fruitless war to wage,
 Oh lasting shame in ev'ry future age !
 Once great in arms, the common scorn we grow,
 Repuls'd and baffled by a feeble foe.
 So small their number, that if wars were ceas'd, 155
 And *Greece* triumphant held a gen'ral feast,
 All rank'd by tens ; whole decads when they dine
 Must want a *Trojan* slave to pour the wine.

But

V. 155. *So small their number, &c.*] This part has a low air in comparison with the rest of the speech. *Scaliger* calls it *tabernariam orationem* : But it is well observed by *Madam Dacier*, that the image *Agamemnon* here gives of the *Trojans* does not only render their numbers contemptible in comparison of the *Greeks*, but their persons too : For it makes them appear but as a few vile slaves fit only to serve them with wine. To which we may add, that it affords a prospect to his soldiers of their future state and triumph after the conquest of their enemies.

This passage gives me occasion to animadvert upon a computation of the number of the *Trojans*, which the learned *Angelus Politian* has offered at in his *Preface to Homer*. He thinks they were fifty thousand without the auxiliaries, from the conclusion of the eighth *Iliad*, where it is said there were a thousand funeral piles of *Trojans*, and fifty men attending each of them. But that the auxiliaries are to be admitted into that number, appears plainly from this place : *Agamemnon* expressly distinguishes the native *Trojans* from the aids, and reckons but one to ten *Grecians*, at which estimate there could not be above ten thousand *Trojans*. See the *Notes on the Catalogue*.

But other forces have our hopes o'erthrown,
 And *Troy* prevails by armies not her own. 160
 Now nine long years of mighty *Jove* are run,
 Since first the labours of this war begun :
 Our cordage torn, decay'd our vessels lie,
 And scarce ensure the wretched pow'r to fly.
 Haste then, for ever leave the *Trojan* wall ! 165
 Our weeping wives, our tender children call :
 Love, duty, safety, summon us away,
 'Tis nature's voice, and nature we obey.
 Our shatter'd barks may yet transport us o'er,
 Safe and inglorious, to our native shore. 170
 Fly, *Grecians*, fly, your sails and oars employ,
 And dream no more of heav'n-defended *Troy*.

His deep design unknown, the hosts approve
Atrides' speech. The mighty numbers move.
 So roll the billows to th' *Icarian* shore, 175
 From East to South when winds begin to roar,
 Burst their dark mansions in the clouds, and sweep
 The whitening surface of the ruffled deep.

And

V. 163. — *Decay'd our vessels lie,*
And scarce ensure the wretched pow'r to fly.]

This, and some other passages, are here translated correspondent to the general air and sense of this speech, rather than just to the letter. The telling them in this place how much their shipping was decayed, was a hint of their danger in returning, as *Madam Dacier* has remarked.

V. 175. *So roll the billows, &c.]* One may take notice that *Homer* in these two similitudes has judiciously made choice of the two most wavering and inconstant things in nature, to compare with the multitude; the *waves* and *ears of corn*. The first alludes to the noise and tumult of the people, in the breaking and rolling of the billows; the second to their taking the same course, like corn bending one way: and both to the easiness with which they are moved by every *breath*.

And as on corn when western gulls descend,
 Before the blast the lofty harvests bend : 180
 Thus o'er the field the moving host appears,
 With nodding plumes and groves of waving spears.
 The gath'ring murmur spreads, their trampling feet
 Beat the loose sands, and thicken to the fleet.
 With long resounding cries they urge the train 185
 To fit the ships, and launch into the main.
 They toil, they sweat, thick clouds of dust arise,
 The doubling clamours echo to the skies.
 Ev'n then the *Greeks* had left the hostile plain,
 And fate decreed the fall of *Troy* in vain ; 190
 But *Jove's* imperial Queen their flight survey'd,
 And sighing thus bespoke the blue-ey'd maid.

Shall then the *Grecians* fly ? Oh dire disgrace !
 And leave unpunish'd this perfidious race ?
 Shall *Troy*, shall *Priam*, and th' adult'rous spouse, 195
 In peace enjoy the fruits of broken vows ?
 And bravest chiefs, in *Helen's* quarrel slain,
 Lie unreveng'd on yon detested plain ?
 No : let my *Greeks*, unmov'd by vain alarms,
 Once more refulgent shine in brazen arms. 200
 Haste, Goddess, haste ! the flying host detain,
 Nor let one sail be hoisted on the main.

Pallas obeys, and from *Olympus'* height
 Swift to the ships precipitates her flight ;
Ulysses, first in public cares, she found, 205
 For prudent counsel like the Gods renown'd :
 Oppress'd with gen'rous grief the Hero stood,
 Nor drew his fable vessels to the flood.
 And is it thus, divine *Laërtes'* son !

Thus

Thus fly the *Greeks* (the martial maid begun) 210
Thus to their country bear their own disgrace,
And fame eternal leave to *Priam's* race?
Shall beauteous *Helen* still remain unfreed,
Still unreveng'd a thousand heroes bleed?
Haste, gen'rous *Ithacus*! prevent the shame, 215
Recal your armies, and your chiefs reclaim.
Your own resistless eloquence employ,
And to th' Immortals trust the fall of *Troy*.

The voice divine confess'd the warlike maid,
Ulysses heard, nor uninspir'd obey'd: 220
Then meeting first *Atrides*, from his hand
Receiv'd th' imperial sceptre of command.
Thus grac'd, attention and respect to gain,
He runs, he flies thro' all the *Grecian* train,
Each Prince in name, or chief in arms approv'd, 225
He fir'd with praise, or with persuasion mov'd.

Warriors like you, with strength and wisdom blest,
By brave examples should confirm the rest.
The monarch's will not yet reveal'd appears;
He tries our courage, but resents our fears, 230
Th' unwary *Greeks* his fury may provoke;
Not thus the King in secret council spoke.
Jove loves our chief, from *Jove* his honour springs,
Beware! for dreadful is the wrath of Kings.

But if a clam'rous vile Plebeian rose, 235
Him with reproof he check'd, or tam'd with blows.
Be still, thou slave, and to thy betters yield;
Unknown alike in council and in field;
Ye Gods, what dastards would our host command?
Swept to the war, the lumber of a land. 240

Be silent, wretch, and think not here allow'd
 The worst of tyrants, an usurping crowd.
 To one sole monarch *Jove* commits the sway;
 His are the laws, and him let all obey.

With words like these the troops *Ulysses* rul'd, 245
 The loudest silenc'd, and the fiercest cool'd.
 Back to th' assembly roll the thronging train,
 Desert the ships, and pour upon the plain.
 Murm'ring they move, as when old *Ocean* roars,
 And heaves huge surges to the trembling shores: 250
 The groaning banks are burst with bellowing sound,
 The rocks remurmur, and the deeps rebound.
 At length the tumult sinks, the noises cease,
 And a still silence lulls the camp to peace.

Thersites

V. 243. *To one sole monarch.*] Those persons are under a mistake who would make this sentence a praise of absolute monarchy. *Homer* speaks it only with regard to a general of an army during the time of his commission. Nor is *Agamemnon* styl'd *King of Kings* in any other sense, than as the rest of the Princes had given him the supreme authority over them in the siege. *Aristotle* defines a King *Στρατηγός γὰρ ἦν δι' δικαστῆς ο βασιλεύς, καὶ τῶν πρὸς θεοὺς Κύριος*; *Leader of the war, Judge of controversies, and President of the ceremonies of the Gods.* That he had the principal care of religious rites appears from many places in *Homer*; and that his power was no where absolute but in war: for we find *Agamemnon* insulted in the council, but in the army threatening deserters with death. He was under an obligation to preserve the privileges of his country, pursuant to which Kings are called by our Author *Δικασπολῆς*, and *Θιμιστοπόλῆς*, the dispensers or managers of Justice. And *Dionysius* of *Halicarnassus* acquaints us, that the old Grecian Kings, whether hereditary or elective, had a council of their chief men, as *Homer* and the most ancient Poets testify; nor was it (he adds) in those times as in ours, when Kings have a full liberty to do whatever they please. *Dion. Hal. lib. 2. Hist.*

V. 255.

Thersites only clamour'd in the throng, 255
 Loquacious, loud, and turbulent of tongue :
 Aw'd by no shame, by no respect controul'd,
 In scandal busy, in reproaches bold ;
 With witty malice studious to defame ;
 Scorn all his joy, and laughter all his aim. 260
 But chief he glory'd with licentious stile
 To lash the great, and monarchs to revile.
 His figure such as might his soul proclaim ;
 One eye was blinking and one leg was lame :

His

V. 255. *Thersites only.*] The ancients have ascribed to *Homer* the first sketch of *Satyric* or *Comic* poetry, of which sort was his poem called *Margites*, as *Aristotle* reports. Tho' that piece be lost, this character of *Thersites* may give us a taste of his vein in that kind. But whether ludicrous descriptions ought to have place in the *Epic* poem, has been justly questioned : Neither *Virgil* nor any of the most approved Ancients have thought fit to admit them into their compositions of that nature ; nor any of the best moderns, except *Milton*, whose fondness for *Homer* might be the reason for it. However, this is in its kind a very masterly part, and our Author has shewn great judgment in the particulars he has chosen to compose the picture of a pernicious creature of wit ; the chief of which are a desire of promoting laughter at any rate, and a contempt of his superiors. And he sums up the whole very strongly, by saying that *Thersites* hated *Achilles* and *Ulysses* ; in which, as *Plutarch* has remarked in his treatise of envy and hatred, he makes it the utmost completion of an ill character to bear malevolence to the best men. What is farther observable is, that *Thersites* is never heard of after this his first appearance : Such a scandalous character is to be taken no more notice of, than just to shew that 'tis despised. *Homer* has observed the same conduct with regard to the most deformed and most beautiful person of his poem : For *Nireus* is thus mentioned once and no more throughout the *Iliad*. He places a worthless beauty and an ill-natured wit upon the same foot, and shews that the gifts of the body without those of the mind are not more despicable, than those of the mind itself without virtue.

V. 275.

His mountain-shoulders half his breast o'erspread, 265
Thin hairs bestrew'd his long mis-shapen head.

Spleen to mankind his envious heart possest,
And much he hated all, but most the best.

Ulysses or *Achilles* still his theme;

But royal scandal his delight supreme. 270

Long had he liv'd the scorn of ev'ry *Greek*,

Vext when he spoke, yet still they heard him speak.

Sharp was his voice; which in the shrillest tone,

Thus with injurious taunts attack'd the throne.

Amidst the glories of so bright a reign, 275

What moves the great *Atrides* to complain?

'Tis thine whate'er the warrior's breast inflames,

The golden spoil, and thine the lovely dames.

With all the wealth our wars and blood bestow,

Thy tents are crouded, and thy chests o'erflow. 280

Thus at full ease in heaps of riches roll'd,

What grieves the monarch? Is it thirst of gold?

Say,

V. 275. *Amidst the glories.*] 'Tis remarked by *Dionysius Halicar.* in his treatise of the *Examination of Writers*, that there could not be a better artifice thought on to recal the army to their obedience, than this of our Author. When they were offended at their general in favour of *Achilles*, nothing could more weaken *Achilles's* interest than to make such a fellow as *Thersites* appear of his party, whose impertinence would give them a disgust of thinking or acting like him. There is no surer method to reduce generous spirits, than to make them see they are pursuing the same vices with people of no merit, and such whom they cannot forbear despising themselves. Otherwise there is nothing in this speech but what might become the mouth of *Nestor* himself, if you except a word or two. And had *Nestor* spoken it, the army had certainly set sail for *Greece*; but because it was uttered by a ridiculous fellow whom they are ashamed to follow, they are reduced, and satisfied to continue the siege.

V. 284.

Say, shall we march with our unconquer'd pow'rs,
 (The *Greeks* and I) to *Ilion's* hostile tow'rs,
 And bring the race of royal bastards here, 285
 For *Troy* to ransom at a price too dear?
 But safer plunder thy own host supplies;
 Say, would'st thou seize some valiant leader's prize?
 Or, if thy heart to gen'rous love be led,
 Some captive fair, to bless thy Kingly bed? 290
 Whate'er our master craves, submit we must,
 Plagu'd with his pride, or punish'd for his lust.
 Oh women of *Achaia*! men no more!
 Hence let us fly, and let him waste his store
 In loves and pleasures on the *Phrygian* shore. 295 }
 We may be wanted on some busy day,
 When *Hector* comes: So great *Achilles* may:
 From him he forc'd the prize we jointly gave,
 From him, the fierce, the fearless, and the brave:
 And durst he, as he ought, resent that wrong, 300
 This mighty tyrant were no tyrant long.

Fierce from his seat, at this, *Ulysses* springs,
 In gen'rous vengeance of the King of Kings.
 With indignation sparkling in his eyes,
 He views the wretch, and sternly thus replies. 305
 Peace,

V. 284. *The Greeks and I.*] These boasts of himself are the few words which *Diomedes* objects to in the foregoing passage. I cannot but think the grave Commentators here very much mistaken, who imagine *Thersites* in earnest in these vaunts, and seriously reprove his insolence. They seem to me manifest strokes of irony, which had rendered them so much the more improper in the mouth of *Nestor*, who was otherwise none of the least boasters himself. And considered as such, they are equal to the rest of the speech, which has an infinite deal of spirit, humour, and satyr.

Peace, factious monster, born to vex the state,
 With wrangling talents form'd for foul debate :
 Curb that impetuous tongue, nor rashly vain,
 And singly mad, asperse the sov'reign reign.
 Have we not known thee, slave ! of all our host, 310
 The man who acts the least, upbraids the most ?
 Think not the *Greeks* to shameful flight to bring,
 Nor let those lips profane the name of King.
 For our return we trust the heav'nly pow'rs ;
 Be that their care ; to fight like men be ours. 315
 But grant the host with wealth the gen'ral load,
 Except detraction, what hast thou bestow'd ?
 Suppose some Hero should his spoils resign,
 Art thou that Hero, could those spoils be thine ?
 Gods ! let me perish on this hateful shore, 320
 And let these eyes behold my son no more ;
 If, on thy next offence, this hand forbear
 To strip those arms thou ill deserv'st to wear,
 Expel the council where our Princes meet,
 And send thee scourg'd, and howling thro' the fleet.
 He said, and cowering as the dastard bends, 326
 The weighty sceptre on his back descends :
 On the round bunch the bloody tumors rise ;
 The tears spring starting from his haggard eyes :
 Trembling

V. 326. *He cowers, and cowering.*] The vile figure *Thersites* makes here is a good piece of *grotesque*; the pleasure expressed by the soldiers at this action of *Ulysses* (notwithstanding they are disappointed by him of their hopes of returning) is agreeable to that generous temper, at once honest and thoughtless, which is commonly found in military men; to whom nothing is so odious as a dastard, and who have not naturally the greatest kindness for a wit.

Trembling he fate, and shrunk in abject fears, 330
From his vile visage wip'd the scalding tears.

While to his neighbour each express'd his thought ;

Ye Gods ! what wonders has *Ulysses* wrought ?

What fruits his conduct and his courage yield ?

Great in the council, glorious in the field. 335

Gen'rous he rises in the crown's defence,

To curb the factious tongue of insolence.

Such just examples on offenders shown,

Sedition silence, and assert the throne.

'Twas thus the gen'ral voice the Hero prais'd, 340

Who rising, high th' imperial sceptre rais'd :

The blue-ey'd *Pallas*, his celestial friend,

(In form a herald) bade the crouds attend.

Th' expecting crouds in still attention hung,

To hear the wisdom of his heav'nly tongue. 345

Then deeply thoughtful, pausing ere he spoke,

His silence thus the prudent Hero broke.

Unhappy monarch ! whom the *Grecian* race
With shame deserting, heap with vile disgrace.

Not

V. 348. *Unhappy monarch ! &c.*] *Quintilian* speaking of the various kinds of oratory which may be learned from *Homer*, mentions among the greatest instances the speeches in this book. *Nonne vel unus liber, quo missa ad Achillem legatio continetur, vel in primo inter duces illa contentio, vel dicta in secundo sententiae, omnes litium ac consiliorum explicat artes ? Affectus quidem vel illos mites, vel hos concitados, nemo erit tam indoctus, qui non suam in potestate hunc autorem habuisse fateatur.* It is indeed hardly possible to find any where more refined turns of policy, or more artful touches of oratory. We have no sooner seen *Agamemnon* excel in one sort, but *Ulysses* is to shine in another no less opposite to it. When the stratagem, of pretending to set sail, had met with too ready a consent from the people, his eloquence appears in all the forms of art. In his first speech he had persuaded the captains with mildness,

Not such at *Argos* was their gen'rous vow, 350
 Once all their voice, but ah ! forgotten now :
 Ne'er to return, was then the common cry,
 'Till *Troy's* proud structures should in ashes lie.
 Behold them weeping for their native shore !
 What could their wives or helpless children more ? 355
 What heart but melts to leave the tender train,
 And one short month, endure the wintry main ?
 Few leagues remov'd, we wish our peaceful seat,
 When the ship tosses, and the tempests beat :

Then

mildness, telling them the people's glory depended upon them, and readily giving a turn to the first design, which had like to have been so dangerous, by representing it only as a project of *Agamemnon* to discover the cowardly. In his second, he had commanded the soldiers with bravery, and made them know what part they sustained in the war. In his third, he had rebuked the seditious in the person of *Thersites*, by reproofs, threats, and actual chastisement. And now in this fourth, when all are gathered together, he applies to them in topics which equally affect them all : He raises their hearts by putting them in mind of the promises of heaven, and those prophecies, of which as they had seen the truth in the nine years delay, they might now expect the accomplishment in the tenth year's success : which is a full answer to what *Agamemnon* had said of *Jupiter's* deceiving them.

Dionysius observes one singular piece of art, in *Ulysses's* manner of applying himself to the people when he would insinuate any thing to the princes, and addressing to the princes when he would blame the people. He tells the soldiers, that they must not all pretend to be rulers there, let there be one King, one Lord ; which is manifestly a precept designed for the leaders to take to themselves. In the same manner *Tiberius Rhetor* remarks the beginning of his last oration to be a fine *Ethopoeia* or oblique representation of the people, upon whom the severity of the reproach is made to fall, while he seems to render the King an object of their pity.

“ Unhappy monarch ! whom the *Grecian* race.

“ With shame deserting, &c.

Then well may this long stay provoke their tears, 360
The tedious length of nine revolving years.
Not for their grief the *Grecian* host I blame ;
But vanquish'd ! baffled ! oh eternal shame !
Expect the time to *Troy's* destruction giv'n,
And try the faith of *Calchas* and of heav'n. 365
What past at *Aulis*, *Greece* can witness bear,
And all who live to breathe this *Phrygian* air.
Beside a fountain's sacred brink we rais'd
Our verdant altars, and the victims blaz'd ; 369
('Twas there the plane-tree spread its shades around)
The altars heav'd ; and from the crumbling ground
A mighty dragon shot, of dire portent ;
From *Jove* himself the dreadful sign was sent.
Strait to the tree his sanguine spires he roll'd,
And curl'd around in many a winding fold. 375
The topmost branch a mother-bird possess'd ;
Eight callow infants fill'd the mossy nest ;
Herself the ninth ; the serpent as he hung,
Stretch'd his black jaws, and crash'd the crying young ;
While hov'ring near, with miserable moan, 380
The drooping mother wail'd her children gone.
The mother last, as round the nest she flew,
Seiz'd by the beating wing, the monster flew :
Not long surviv'd ; to marble turn'd he stands
A lasting prodigy on *Aulis'* sands. 385
Such was the will of *Jove* ; and hence we dare
Trust in his omen, and support the war.
For while around we gaze with wond'ring eyes,
And trembling fought the pow'rs with sacrifice,
Full of his God, the rev'rend *Calchas* cry'd, 390
Ye *Grecian* warriors ! lay your fears aside :

This

This wondrous signal *Jove* himself displays,
 Of long, long labours, but eternal praise.
 As many birds as by the snake were slain,
 So many years the toils of *Greece* remain ; 395
 But wait the tenth, for *Ilion's* fall decreed :
 Thus spoke the Prophet, thus the fates succeed.
 Obey, ye *Grecians*, with submission wait,
 Nor let your flight avert the *Trojan* fate.

He said : the shores with loud applauses sound, 400
 The hollow ships each deaf'ning shout rebound.
 Then *Nestor* thus—These vain debates forbear,
 Ye talk like children, not like heroes dare.

Where

V. 402. *Then Nestor thus.*] Nothing is more observable than *Homer's* conduct of this whole incident ; by what judicious and well-imagined degrees the army is restrained, and wrought up to the desires of the General. We have given the detail of all the methods *Ulysses* proceeded in : The activity of his character is now to be contrasted with the gravity of *Nestor's*, who covers and strengthens the other's arguments, and constantly appears through the poem a weighty Closer of debates. The *Greeks* had already seen their General give way to his authority, in the dispute with *Achilles* in the former book, and could expect no less than that their stay should be concluded on by *Agamemnon* as soon as *Nestor* undertook that cause. For this was all they imagined his discourse aimed at ; but we shall find it had a farther design from *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*. “ There are two things (says
 “ that excellent critic) worthy of admiration in the speeches
 “ of *Ulysses* and *Nestor*, which are the different designs they
 “ speak with, and the different applauses they receive.
 “ *Ulysses* had the acclamations of the army, and *Nestor* the
 “ praise of *Agamemnon*. One may enquire the reason, why
 “ he extols the latter preferably to the former, when all
 “ that *Nestor* alledges seems only a repetition of the same ar-
 “ guments which *Ulysses* had given before him ? It might be
 “ done in encouragement to the old man, in whom it might
 “ raise a concern to find his speech not followed with so ge-
 “ neral an applause as the other's. But we are to refer the
 “ speech of *Nestor* to that part of oratory which seems only
 “ to

Where now are all your high resolves at last ?
 Your leagues concluded, your engagements past ? 405
 Vow'd with libations and with victims then,
 Now vanish'd like their smoke : the faith of men !

While

“ to confirm what another has said, and yet superinduces
 “ and carries a farther point. *Ulysses* and *Nestor* both com-
 “ pare the *Greeks* to children, for their unmanly desire to
 “ return home ; they both reproach them with the engage-
 “ ments and vows they had past, and were now about to
 “ break ; they both alledge the prosperous signs and omens
 “ received from heaven. Notwithstanding this, the end of
 “ their orations is very different. *Ulysses*'s business was to
 “ detain the *Grecians* when they were upon the point of
 “ flying ; *Nestor*, finding that work done to his hands, de-
 “ signed to draw them instantly to battle. This was the
 “ utmost *Agamemnon* had aimed at, which *Nestor*'s artifice
 “ brings to pass ; for while they imagine by all he says that
 “ he is only persuading them to stay, they find themselves
 “ unawares put into order of battle, and led under their
 “ Princes to fight.” *Dion. Hal. περὶ ἐσκηματισμένων, Part*
1 and 2.

We may next take notice of some particulars of this speech : where he says they lose their time in empty words, he hints at the dispute between *Agamemnon* and *Achilles* : where he speaks of those who deserted the *Grecian cause*, he glances at *Achilles* in particular. When he represents *Helen* in affliction and tears, he removes the odium from the person in whose cause they were to fight ; and when he moves *Agamemnon* to advise with his council, artfully prepares for a reception of his own advice by that modest way of proposing it. As for the advice itself, to divide the army into bodies, each of which should be composed entirely of men of the same country ; nothing could be better judged both in regard to the present circumstance, and with an eye to the future carrying on of the war. For the first, its immediate effect was to take the whole army out of its tumult, break whatever cabals they might have formed together, by separating them into a new division, and cause every single mutineer to come instantly under the view of his own proper officer for correction. For the second, it was to be thought the army would be much strengthened by this union : Those of different nations who had different aims,
 interests

While useleſs words conſume th' unactive hours,
 No wonder *Troy* ſo long reſiſts our pow'rs.
 Riſe, great *Atrides* ! and with courage ſway ; 410
 We march to war, if thou direct the way.
 But leave the few that dare reſiſt thy laws,
 The mean deſerters of the *Grecian* cauſe,
 To grudge the conqueſts mighty *Jove* prepares,
 And view, with envy, our ſucceſſful wars. 415
 On that great day when fiſt the martial train,
 Big with the fate of *Ilion*, plow'd the main ;
Jove, on the right, a proſp'rous ſignal ſent,
 And thunder rolling, ſhook the firmament.
 Encourag'd hence, maintain the glorious ſtriſe, 420
 'Till ev'ry ſoldier graſp a *Phrygian* wiſe,
 'Till *Helen's* woes at full reveng'd appear,
 And *Troy's* proud matrons render tear for tear.
 Before that day, if any *Greek* invite
 His country's troops to baſe, inglorious flight, 425
 Stand forth that *Greek* ! and hoift his ſails to fly ;
 And die the daſtard fiſt, who dreads to die.
 But now, O Monarch ! all thy Chiefs adviſe :
 Nor what they offer, thou thyſelf deſpiſe.
 Among thoſe counſels, let not mine be vain ; 430
 In tribes and nations to divide thy train :
 His ſep'rate troops let every leader call,
 Each ſtrengthen each, and all encourage all.

What

intereſts and friendships, could not aſſiſt each other with ſo
 much zeal, or ſo well concur to the ſame end, as when
 friends aided friends, kiſnmen their kiſnmen, &c. when
 each commander had the glory of his own nation in view,
 and a greater emulation was excited between body and body ;
 as not only warring for the honour of *Greece* in general, but
 for that of every diſtinct *State* in particular.

V. 440.

What chief, or soldier, of the num'rous band,
 Or bravely fights, or ill obeys command, 435
 When thus distinct they war, shall soon be known,
 And what the cause of *Ilion* not o'erthrown ;
 If fate resists, or if our arms are slow,
 If Gods above prevent, or men below.

To him the King : How much thy years excel 440
 In arts of council, and in speaking well !
 Oh would the Gods, in love to *Greece*, decree
 But ten such sages as they grant in thee ;

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K

Such

440. *How much thy years excel.*] Every one has observed how glorious an elogium of wisdom *Homer* has here given, where *Agamemnon* so far prefers it to valour, as to wish not for ten *Ajax*'s or *Achilles*'s, but only for ten *Nestors*. For the rest of his speech, *Dionysius* has summ'd it up as follows. " *Agamemnon* being now convinced the *Greeks* were offended at him, on account of the departure of *Achilles*, pacifies them by a generous confession of his fault ; but then asserts the character of a supreme Ruler, and with the air of command threatens the disobedient." I cannot conclude this part of the speeches without remarking how beautifully they rise above one another, and how they more and more awaken the spirit of war in the *Grecians*. In this last there is a wonderful fire and vivacity, when he prepares them for the glorious toils they were to undergo by a warm and lively description of them. The repetition of the words in that part has a beauty, which (as well as many others of the same kind) has been lost by most translators.

Εὖ μὲν τις δόρυ θηξάτω, εὖ δ' ἀσπίδα θέστω,
 Εὖ δὲ τις ἱπποισιν δειπνον δότω ἀκυπόδεσσι,
 Εὖ δέ' αἶματός ἀμφὶς ὀδῶν.——

I cannot but believe *Milton* had this passage in his eye in that of his sixth book.

————— Let each

His adamantine coat gird well ; and each
 Fit well his helm, gripe fast his orb'd shield, &c.

Such wisdom soon should *Priam's* force destroy,
 And soon should fall the haughty tow'rs of *Troy* ! 445
 But *Jove* forbids, who plunges those he hates
 In fierce contention, and in vain debates.
 Now great *Achilles* from our aid withdraws,
 By me provok'd ; a captive maid the cause :
 If e'er as friends we join, the *Trojan* wall 450
 Must shake, and heavy will the vengeance fall !
 But now, ye warriors, take a short repast ;
 And well-refresh'd, to bloody conflict haste.
 His sharpen'd spear let ev'ry *Grecian* wield,
 And ev'ry *Grecian* fix his brazen shield ; 455
 Let all excite the fiery steeds of war,
 And all for combat fit the rattling car.
 This day, this dreadful day, let each contend ;
 No rest, no respite, 'till the shades descend ;
 'Till darkness, or till death shall cover all : 460
 Let the war bleed, and let the mighty fall !
 'Till bath'd in sweat be ev'ry manly breast,
 With the huge shield each brawny arm deprest,
 Each aking nerve refuse the lance to throw,
 And each spent courser at the chariot blow. 465
 Who dares, inglorious, in his ships to stay,
 Who dares to tremble on this signal day,
 That wretch, too mean to fall by martial pow'r,
 The birds shall mangle, and the dogs devour.
 The Monarch spoke: and straight a murmur rose, 470
 Loud as the surges when the tempest blows,
 That dash'd on broken rocks tumultuous roar,
 And foam and thunder on the stony shore.
 Strait to the tents the troops dispersing bend,
 The fires are kindled, and the smoaks ascend ; 475
 With

With hasty feasts they sacrifice, and pray
 T' avert the dangers of the doubtful day.
 A steer of five years age, large limb'd, and fed,
 To *Jove's* high altars *Agamemnon* led :
 There bade the noblest of the *Grecian* Peers ; 480
 And *Nestor* first, as most advanc'd in years.
 Next came *Idomeneus* and *Tydeus'* son,
Ajax the less, and *Ajax Telamon* ;
 Then wife *Ulysses* in his rank was plac'd ;
 And *Menelaus* came unbid, the last. 485
 The Chiefs surround the destin'd beast, and take
 The sacred off'ring of the salted cake :
 When thus the King prefers his solemn pray'r,
 Oh thou ! whose thunder rends the clouded air,
 Who in the heav'n of heav'ns hast fix'd thy throne, 490
 Supreme of Gods ! unbounded, and alone !
 Hear ! and before the burning sun descends,
 Before the night her gloomy veil extends,
 Low in the dust be laid yon' hostile spires,
 Be *Priam's* palace sunk in *Grecian* fires, 495
 In *Hector's* breast be plung'd this shining sword,
 And slaughter'd heroes groan around their Lord ?

K 2

Thus

V. 485. *And Menelaus came unbid.*] The criticks have entered into a warm dispute, whether *Menelaus* was in the right or in the wrong, in coming uninvited : Some maintaining it the part of an impertinent or a fool to intrude upon another man's table ; and others insisting upon the privilege a brother or a kinsman may claim in this case. The *English* reader had not been troubled with the translation of this word *Αντὶμαῖος*, but that *Plato* and *Plutarch* have taken notice of the passage. The verse following this, in most editions, 'Ὅδ' ἔτι γὰρ κατὰ θυμὸν, &c. being rejected as spurious by *Demetrius Phalereus*, is omitted here upon his authority.

Thus pray'd the Chief: his unavailing pray'r
 Great *Jove* refus'd, and tost in empty air:
 The God averſe, while yet the fumes aroſe, 500
 Prepar'd new toils, and doubled woes on woes.
 Their pray'rs perform'd, the Chiefs the rite purſue,
 The barley ſprinkled, and the victim ſlew.
 The limbs they ſever from th' incloſing hide,
 The thighs, ſeleſted to the Gods, divide. 505
 On theſe, in double caulſ involv'd with art,
 The choiceſt morſels lie from ev'ry part.
 From the cleft wood the crackling flames aſpire,
 While the fat victim feeds the ſacred fire.
 The thighs thus ſacrific'd and entrails dreſt, 510
 Th' aſſiſtants part tranſfix, and roaſt the reſt;
 Then ſpread the tables, the repaſt prepare,
 Each takes his ſeat, and each receives his ſhare.
 Soon as the rage of hunger was ſuppreſt,
 The gen'rous *Neflor* thus the Prince addreſt. 515
 Now bid thy Heralds ſound the loud alarms,
 And call the ſquadrons ſheath'd in brazen arms:
 Now ſeize th' occaſion, now the troops ſurvey,
 And lead to war when Heav'n directs the way.
 He ſaid; the Monarch iſſu'd his commands; 520
 Strait the loud heralds call the gath'ring bands.
 The chiefs incloſe their King; the hoſts divide,
 In tribes and nations rank'd on either ſide.
 High in the miſt the blue-ey'd Virgin flies;
 From rank to rank ſhe darts her ardent eyes: 525
 The dreadful *Ægis*, *Jove's* immortal ſhield,
 Blaz'd on her arm, and lighten'd all the field:

Round

V. 526. *The dreadful Ægis, Jove's immortal ſhield.*] *Homer*
 does not expreſſly call it a ſhield in this place, but it is plain
 from

Round the vast orb an hundred serpents roll'd,
 Form'd the bright fringe, and seem'd to burn in gold.
 With this each *Grecian's* manly breast she warms, 530
 Swells their bold hearts, and strings their nervous arms;
 No more they sigh, inglorious to return,
 But breathe revenge, and for the combat burn.

As on some mountain, thro' the lofty grove,
 The crackling flames ascend and blaze above, 535

K 3

The

from several other passages that it was so. In the fifth *Iliad*, this *Ægis* is described with a sublimity that is inexpressible. The figure of the *Gorgon's* head upon it is there specified, which will justify the mention of the serpents in the translation here: The verses are remarkably sonorous in the original. The image of the Goddess of battles blazing with her immortal shield before the army, inspiring every Hero, and assisting to range the troops, is agreeable to the bold painting of our author. And the encouragement of a divine power seemed no more than was requisite, to change so totally the dispositions of the *Grecians*, as to make them now more ardent for the combat, than they were before desirous of a return. This finishes the conquest of their inclinations, in a manner at once wonderfully poetical, and correspondent to the moral which is every where spread through *Homer*, that nothing is entirely brought about but by the divine assistance.

V. 534. *As on some mountain, &c.*] The imagination of *Homer* was so vast and so lively, that whatsoever objects presented themselves before him, impressed their images so forcibly, that he poured them forth in comparisons equally simple and noble; without forgetting any circumstance which could instruct the reader, and make him see those objects in the same strong light wherein he saw them himself. And in this one of the principal beauties of poetry consists. *Homer*, on the sight of the march of this numerous army, gives us five similes in a breath, but all entirely different. The first regards the splendor of their armour, as a fire, &c. The second the various movements of so many thousands, before they can range themselves in battle-array, like the swans, &c. The third respects their number, as the leaves or flowers, &c. The fourth the ardour with which they run to the combat, like the legions of insects, &c. And the fifth

The fires, expanding as the winds arise,
 Shoot their long beams, and kindle half the skies :
 So from the polish'd arms, and brazen shields,
 A gleamy splendor flash'd along the fields.
 Not less their number than th' embody'd cranes, 540
 Or milk-white swans in *Asius*' wat'ry plains,

That

fifth the obedience and exact discipline of the troops, ranged without confusion under their leaders, as flocks under their shepherds. This fecundity and variety can never be enough admired. *Dacier*.

V. 541. *Or milk-white swans on Asius' wat'ry plains.*] *Scaliger* who is seldom just to our author, yet confesses these verses to be *plenissima Nectaris*. But he is greatly mistaken when he accuses this simile of impropriety, on the supposition that a number of birds flying without order are here compared to an army ranged in array of battle. On the contrary, *Homer* in this expresses the stir and tumult the troops were in, before they got into order, running together from the ships and tents : Νεῶν' ἀπο, καὶ κλισιάων. But when they are placed in their ranks, he compares them to the flocks under their shepherds. This distinction will plainly appear from the detail of the five similes in the foregoing note.

Virgil has imitated this with great happiness in his seventh *Æneid*.

Ceu quondam nivei liquida inter nubila cygni
Cum sese è pastu referunt, & longa canoros
Dant per colla modos, sonat amnis & Asia longè
Pulsa palus—

Like a long team of snowy swans on high,
 Which clap their wings, and cleave the liquid sky,
 When homeward from their watry pastures borne,
 They sing, and *Asia*'s lakes their notes return.

Mr. Dryden in this place has mistaken *Asius* for *Asia*, which *Virgil* took care to distinguish by making the first syllable of *Asius* long, as of *Asia* short. Though (if we believe *Madam Dacier*)

That o'er the windings of *Cayster's* springs,
 Stretch their long necks, and clap their rustling wings,
 Now tow'r aloft, and course in airy rounds;
 Now light with noise; with noise the field resounds. 545
 Thus num'rous and confus'd, extending wide,
 The legions croud *Scamander's* flow'ry side;
 With rushing troops the plains are cover'd o'er,
 And thund'ring footsteps shake the sounding shore:
 Along the river's level meads they stand, 550
 Thick as in spring the flow'rs adorn the land,
 Or leaves the trees, or thick as insects play,
 The wand'ring nation of a summer's day,

K 4

That

Dacier) he was himself in an error, both here and in the first *Georgick*:

— *Quæ Asia circum*

Dulcibus in stagnis rimantur prata Caystri.

For she will not allow that *'Ασίω* can be a Patronymic Adjective, but the Genitive of a proper Name, *'Ασίς*, which being turned into *Ionic* is *'Ασίω*, and by a *Syncope* makes *'Ασίω*. This puts me in mind of another criticism upon the 290th verse of this book: 'tis observed that *Virgil* uses *Inarime* for *Arime*, as if he had read *Εἰναρίμους*, instead of *Εἰν' Ἀρίμους*. *Schæger* ridicules this trivial remark, and asks if it can be imagined that *Virgil* was ignorant of the name of a place so near him as *Baïæ*? It is indeed unlucky for good writers, that men who have learning, should lay a stress upon such trifles; and that those who have none, should think it learning to do so.

V. 552. *Or thick as insects play.*] This simile translated literally runs thus; *As the numerous troops of flies about a shepherd's cottage in the spring, when the milk masts the pails; such numbers of Greeks stood in the field against the Trojans, desiring their destruction.* The lowness of this image, in comparison with those which precede it, will naturally shock a modern critick, and would scarce be forgiven in a Poet of these times.

That drawn by milky steams, at ev'ning hours,
 In gather'd swarms surround the rural bow'rs ; 555
 From pail to pail with busy murmur run
 The gilded legions glitt'ring in the sun.
 So throng'd, so close, the *Grecian* squadrons flood
 In radiant arms, and thirst for *Trojan* blood.
 Each leader now his scatter'd force conjoins 560
 In close array, and forms the deep'ning lines.
 Not with more ease, the skilful shepherd swain
 Collects his flock from thousands on the plain.
 The King of Kings, majestically tall,
 Tow'rs o'er his armies, and outshines them all : 565
 Like some proud Bull that round the pastures leads
 His subject-herds, the monarch of the meads.

Great

times. The utmost a translator can do is to heighten the expression, so as to render the disparity less observable : which is endeavour'd here, and in other places. If this be done successfully, the reader is so far from being offended at a low idea, that it raises his surprize to find it grown great in the Poet's hands, of which we have frequent instances in *Virgil's Georgicks*. Here follows another of the same kind, in the simile of *Agamemnon* to a *Bull*, just after he has been compared to *Jove*, *Mars*, and *Neptune*. This, *Eustathius* tells us, was blamed by some criticks, and Mr. *Hobbes* has left it out in his translation. The liberty has been taken here to place the humbler simile first, reserving the noble one as a more magnificent close of the description : The bare turning the sentence removes the objection. *Milton*, who was a close imitator of our author, has often copied him in these humble comparisons. He has not scrupled to insert one in the midst of that pompous description of the rout of the rebel-angels in the sixth book, where the Son of God in all his dreadful Majesty is represented pouring his vengeance upon them :

————As a herd

Of goats, or tim'rous flocks together throng'd, *
 Drove them before him thunder-struck ———

V. 568.

Great as the Gods th' exalted Chief was seen,
 His strength like *Neptune*, and like *Mars* his mien,
Jove o'er his eyes celestial glories spread, 570
 And dawning conquest play'd around his head.

Say, Virgins, seated round the throne divine,
 All-knowing Goddesses ! immortal Nine !
 Since earth's wide regions, heav'n's unmeasur'd height,
 And hell's abyss, hide nothing from your sight, 575
 (We, wretched mortals ! lost in doubts below,
 But guess by rumour, and but boast we know)
 Oh say what Heroes, fir'd by thirst of fame,
 Or urg'd by wrongs, to *Troy's* destruction came ?

K 5

To

V. 568. *Great as the Gods.*] *Homer* here describes the figure and port of *Agamemnon* with all imaginable grandeur, in making him appear cloathed with the majesty of the greatest of the Gods; and when *Plutarch* (in his second oration of the fortune of *Alexander*) blamed the comparison of a man to three Deities at once, that censure was not passed upon *Homer* as a Poet, but by *Plutarch* as a Priest. This character of Majesty, in which *Agamemnon* excels all the other Heroes, is preserved in the different views of him throughout the *Iliad*. It is thus he appears on his ship in the catalogue; thus he shines in the eyes of *Priam* in the third book; thus again in the beginning of the eleventh; and so in the rest.

V. 572. *Say, Virgins.*] It is hard to conceive any address more solemn, any opening to a subject more noble and magnificent, than this invocation of *Homer* before his catalogue. That omnipresence he gives to the Muses, their post in the highest Heaven, their comprehensive survey thro' the whole extent of the creation, are circumstances greatly imagined. Nor is any thing more perfectly fine, or exquisitely moral, than the opposition of the extensive knowledge of the divinities on the one side, to the blindness and ignorance of mankind on the other. The greatness and importance of his subject is highly raised by his exalted manner of declaring the difficulty of it, *Not tho' my lungs were brass*, &c. and by the air he gives, as if what follows were immediately inspired, and no less than the joint labour of all the Muses.

V. 586.

To count them all demands a thousand tongues, 580
 A throat of brass, and adamantine lungs.
 Daughters of *Jove*, assist ! inspir'd by you
 The mighty labour dauntless I pursue :
 What crouded armies, from what climes they bring,
 Their names, their numbers, and their Chiefs I sing. 585



The CATALOGUE of the SHIPS.

THE hardy warriors whom *Boetia* bred,
Peneleus, *Leitus*, *Prothoënor* led :
 With these *Arcefilaus* and *Clonius* stand,
 Equal in arms, and equal in command.

These

V. 586. *The hardy warriors.*] The catalogue begins in this place, which I forbear to treat of at present : only I must acknowledge here that the translation has not been exactly punctual to the order in which *Homer* places his towns. However it has not trespassed against Geography ; the transpositions I mention being no other than such minute ones, as *Strabo* confesses the author himself is not free from : 'Ο δὲ Παιήλης γένια μὲν χάρας λέγει συνεχῶς, ὥσπερ καὶ κεῖται. Ο.δ' ὕρην ἐνέμοιτο, καὶ Αὐλίδα, &c. "Ἄλλο τὲ δ' ἔχ' ὡς ἔστι τῇ τάξει, Σχοῖνον τὲ Σκόλον τε, Θέσπειαν Γραῖάν τε. lib. 8. There is not to my remembrance any place throughout this catalogue omitted ; a liberty which Mr. *Dryden* has made no difficulty to take and to confess, in his *Virgil*. But a more scrupulous care was owing to *Homer*, on account of that wonderful exactness and unequalled diligence, which he has particularly shewn in this part of his work.

These head the troops that rocky *Aulis* yields, 590

And *Eteon's* hills, and *Hyrie's* watry fields,

And *Schænos*, *Scolos*, *Græa* near the main,

And *Mycaleſſia's* ample piny plain.

Those who in *Peteon* or *Ileſion* dwell,

Or *Harma* where *Apollo's* prophet fell; 595

Heleon and *Hylè*, which the ſprings o'erflow;

And *Medeon* lofty, and *Ocalea* low;

Or in the meads of *Haliartus* ſtray,

Or *Theſpia* ſacred to the God of Day.

Oncheſtus, *Neptune's* celebrated groves; 600

Copæ, and *Thiſbè*, ſam'd for ſilver doves,

For flocks *Erythræ*, *Gliffa* for the vine;

Plutæa green, and *Niſa* the divine.

And they whom *Thebè's* well-built walls incloſe,

Where *Mydè*, *Eutrefis*, *Coronè* roſe; 605

And *Arnè* rich, with purple harveſts crown'd;

And *Anthedon*, *Bæotia's* utmoſt bound.

Full fifty ſhips they ſend, and each conveys

Twice ſixty warriors thro' the foaming ſeas.

To theſe ſucceed *Aſpledon's* martial train, 610

Who plow the ſpacious *Orchomenian* plain.

Two valiant brothers rule th' undaunted throng,

Ialmen and *Aſcalaphus* the ſtrong,

Sons of *Aſtyachè*, the heav'nly fair,

Whoſe virgin charms ſubdu'd the God of war: 615

(In *Actor's* court as ſhe retir'd to reſt,

The ſtrength of *Mars* the bluſhing maid compr'eſt)

Their troops in thirty ſable veſſels ſweep,

With equal oars, the hoarſe-reſounding deep.

The *Phocians* next in forty barks repair, 620

Epitrophus and *Schedius* head the war:

From

From those rich regions where *Cephissus* leads
 His silver current thro' the flow'ry meads ;
 From *Panopæa*, *Chrysa* the divine,
 Where *Anemoria*'s stately turrets shine, 625
 Where *Pytho*, *Daulis*, *Cyparissus* stood,
 And fair *Lilæa* views the rising flood.
 These rang'd in order on the floating tide,
 Close on the left the bold *Bæotians* side.

Fierce *Ajax* led the *Locrian* squadrons on, 630
Ajax the less, *Oileus*' valiant son ;
 Skill'd to direct the flying darts aright ;
 Swift in pursuit, and active in the fight.
 Him, as their Chief, the chosen troops attend,
 Which *Bessa*, *Thronus*, and rich *Cynos* send : 635
Opus, *Calliarus*, and *Scarphe*'s bands ;
 And those who dwell where pleasing *Augia* stands, }
 And where *Boægrus* floats the lowly lands,
 Or in fair *Tarphe*'s sylvan seats reside ;
 In forty vessels cut the yielding tide. 640

Eubæa next her martial sons prepares,
 And sends the brave *Abantes* to the wars :
 Breathing revenge, in arms they take their way
 From *Chalcis*' walls, and strong *Eretria* ;
 Th' *Isteian* fields for gen'rous vines renown'd, 645
 The fair *Carystos*, and the *Styrian* ground ;
 Where *Dios* from her tow'rs o'erlooks the plain,
 And high *Cerintus* views the neighb'ring main.
 Down their broad shoulders falls a length of hair ;
 Their hands dismiss not the long lance in air ; 650
 But

V. 649. Down their broad shoulders, &c.] The Greek has it
 ἄπ' αὐτῶν κομώμεναι, *a tergo comantes*. It was the custom of these
 people

But with protended spears in fighting fields,
Pierce the tough cors'lets and the brazen shields.
Twice twenty ships transport the warlike bands,
Which bold *Elphenor*, fierce in arms, commands.

Full fifty more from *Athens* stem the main, 655
Led by *Menestheus* thro' the liquid plain,
(*Athens* the fair, where great *Erectheus* sway'd,
That ow'd his nurture to the blue-ey'd maid.
But from the teeming furrow took his birth,
The mighty offspring of the foodful earth. 660
Him *Pallas* plac'd amidst her wealthy fane,
Ador'd with sacrifice and oxen slain;
Where as the years revolve her altars blaze,
And all the tribes resound the Goddess' praise.)
No Chief like thee, *Menestheus*! *Greece* could yield, 665
To marshal armies in the dusty field,
Th' extended wings of battle to display,
Or close th' embody'd host in firm array.
Nestor alone, improv'd by length of days,
For martial conduct bore an equal praise. 670
With these appear the *Salaminian* bands,
Whom the gigantic *Telamon* commands;

In

people to shave the fore-part of their heads, which they did that their enemies might not take the advantage of seizing them by the hair: the hinder part they let grow, as a valiant race that would never turn their backs. Their manner of fighting was hand to hand, without quitting their javelins (in the way of our pike-men.) *Plutarch* tells us this in the life of *Theseus*, and cites, to strengthen the authority of *Homer*, some verses of *Archilocus* to the same effect. *Eobanus Hessus*, who translated *Homer* into *Latin* verse, was therefore mistaken in his version of this passage:

*Præcipue jaculatores, hastamque periti
Vibrare, & longis contingere pectora telis.*

In twelve black ships to *Troy* they steer their course,
And with the great *Athenians* join their force.

Next move to war the gen'rous *Argive* train, 675 }
From high *Træzenè* and *Mafeta's* plain,
And fair *Ægina* circled by the main :

Whom strong *Tirynthè's* lofty walls surround,
And *Epidaure* with viny harvests crown'd :
And where fair *Asinen* and *Hermion* show 680
Their cliffs above, and ample bay below.

These by the brave *Euryalus* were led,
Great *Sthenelus*, and greater *Diomed*,
But chief *Tydidès* bore the sov'reign sway ;
In fourscore barks they plow the watry way. 685

The proud *Mycenè* arms her martial pow'rs,
Cleonè, *Corinth*, with imperial tow'rs,
Fair *Aræthyrea*, *Ornia's* fruitful plain,
And *Ægion*, and *Adraftus's* ancient reign :
And those who dwell along the sandy shore, 690
And where *Pellenè* yields her fleecy store,
Where *Helicè* and *Hyperefia* lie,
And *Gonçëssa's* spires salute the sky.

Great *Agamemnon* rules the num'rous band,
A hundred vessels in long order stand, 695 }
And crouded nations wait his dread command.
High on the deck the King of Men appears,
And his refulgent arms in triumph wears ;
Proud of his host, unrival'd in his reign,
In silent pomp he moves along the main. 700

His brother follows, and to vengeance warms
The hardy *Spartans*, exercis'd in arms :
Phares and *Bryfia's* valiant troops, and those
Whom *Lacedæmon's* lofty hills inclose :

Or

Or *Messe's* tow'rs for silver doves renown'd, 705

Amyclæ, *Laïs*, *Augia's* happy ground,

And those whom *Oetylos's* low walls contain,

And *Helos*, on the margin of the main :

These, o'er the bending Ocean, *Helen's* cause

In sixty ships with *Menelaus* draws : 710

Eager and loud, from man to man he flies,

Revenge and fury flaming in his eyes ;

While vainly fond, in fancy oft he hears

The fair one's grief, and sees her falling tears.

In ninety sail, from *Pylus's* sandy coast, 715

Nestor the sage conducts his chosen host :

From *Amphigenia's* ever-fruitful land ;

Where *Æpy* high, and little *Pteleon* stand ;

Where

V. 711. *Eager and loud, from man to man he flies.*] The figure *Menelaus* makes in this place is remarkably distinguished from the rest, and sufficient to shew his concern in the war was personal, while the others acted only for interest or glory in general. No leader in all the list is represented thus eager and passionate ; he is louder than them all in his exhortations ; more active in running among the troops ; and inspirited with the thoughts of revenge, which he still encreases with the secret imagination of *Helen's* repentance. This behaviour is finely imagined.

The epithet Βοὴν ἀγαθὸς, which is applied in this and other places to *Menelaus*, and which literally signifies *loud-voiced*, is made by the Commentators to mean *valiant*, and translated *bello strenuus*. The reason given by *Eustathius* is, that a loud voice is a mark of strength, the usual effect of fear being to cut short the respiration. I own this seems to be forced, and rather believe it was one of those kind of surnames given from some distinguishing quality of the person (as that of a loud voice might belong to *Menelaus*) which *Monf. Boileau* mentions in his ninth reflection upon *Longinus*, in the same manner as some of our Kings were called *Edward Longshanks*, *William Rufus*, &c. But however it be, the epithet taken in the literal sense has a beauty in this verse from the circumstance *Menelaus* is described in, which determined the translator to use it.

V. 746.

Where beauteous *Arenè* her structures shows,
 And *Thryon's* walls *Alphèus'* streams inclose : 720
 And *Dorion*, fam'd for *Thamyris* disgrace,
 Superior once of all the tuneful race,
 'Till vain of mortals empty praise, he strove,
 To match the seed of cloud-compelling *Jove* !
 Too daring bard ! whose unsuccessful pride 725
 Th' immortal *Muses* in their art defy'd.
 Th' avenging *Muses* of the light of day
 Depriv'd his eyes, and snatch'd his voice away ;
 No more his heav'nly voice was heard to sing ;
 His hand no more awak'd the silver string. 730
 Where under high *Cyllenè*, crown'd with wood,
 The shaded tomb of old *Æpytus* stood ;
 From *Ripè*, *Stratie*, *Tegea's* bord'ring towns,
 The *Phenean* fields, and *Orchomenian* downs,
 Where the fat herds in plenteous pasture rove ; 735
 And *Stymphelus* with her surrounding grove,
Parrhasia, on her snowy cliffs reclin'd,
 And high *Enispè* shook with wintry wind,
 And fair *Mantineia's* ever-pleasing site ;
 In sixty sail th' *Arcadian* bands unite. 740
 Bold *Agapenor*, glorious at their head,
 (*Ancæus'* son) the mighty squadron led.
 Their ships, supply'd by *Agamemnon's* care,
 Thro' roaring seas the wond'ring warriors bear ;
 The first to battle on th' appointed plain, 745
 But new to all the dangers of the main.

Those,

V. 746. *New to all the dangers of the main.*] The *Arcadians*
 being an inland people were unskill'd in navigation, for
 which reason *Agamemnon* furnished them with shipping.
 From hence, and from the last line of the description of the
 sceptre,

Those, where fair *Elis* and *Buprasium* join ;
 Whom *Hyrmin*, here, and *Myrsinus* confine,
 And bounded there, where o'er the vallies rose
 Th' *Olenian* rock ; and where *Alisium* flows ; 750
 Beneath four chiefs (a num'rous army) came :
 The strength and glory of th' *Epean* name.
 In sep'rate squadrons these their train divide,
 Each leads ten vessels thro' the yielding tide.
 One was *Amphimachus*, and *Thatpius* one ; 755
 (*Eurytus*' this, and that *Teätus*' son)
Diores sprung from *Amarynceus*' line ;
 And great *Polyxenus*, of force divine.

But those who view fair *Elis* o'er the seas
 From the blest islands of th' *Echinades*, 760
 In forty vessels under *Meges* move,
 Begot by *Phyleus*, the belov'd of *Jove*,
 To strong *Dulichium* from his fire he fled,
 And thence to *Troy* his hardy warriors led.

Ulysses follow'd thro' the watry road, 765
 A chief, in wisdom equal to a God.
 With those whom *Cephalenia*'s isle inclos'd,
 Or till their fields along the coast oppos'd ;
 Or where fair *Ithaca* o'erlooks the floods,
 Where high *Neritos* shakes his waving woods, 770
 Where *Ægilipa*'s rugged sides are seen,
Crocyliä rocky, and *Zacynthus* green.
 These in twelve galleys with vermilion proes,
 Beneath his conduct fought the *Phrygian* shores.

Thoas

sceptre, where he is said to preside over many islands ; *Thucydides* takes occasion to observe that the power of *Agamemnon* was superior to the rest of the Princes of *Greece*, on account of his naval forces, which had rendered him master of the sea. *Thucyd. lib. 1.*

Thoas came next, *Andraemon's* valiant son, 775
 From *Pleuron's* walls and chalky *Calydon*,
 And rough *Pylène*, and th' *Olenian* steep,
 And *Chalcis*, beaten by the rolling deep.
 He led the warriors from th' *Ætolian* shore,
 For now the sons of *Oeneus* were no more! 780
 The glories of the mighty race were fled!
Oeneus himself, and *Meleager* dead!
 To *Thoas'* care now trust the martial train,
 His forty vessels follow thro' the main.

Next eighty barks the *Cretan* King commands, 785
 Of *Gnosſus*, *Lyctus*, and *Gortyna's* bands,
 And those who dwell where *Rhytion's* domes arise,
 Or white *Lycaſtus* glitters to the skies,
 Or where by *Phæſtus* silver *Jordan* runs;
Crete's hundred cities pours forth all her sons. 790
 These march'd, *Idomeneus*, beneath thy care,
 And *Merion*, dreadful as the God of war.

Tlepolemeus, the son of *Hercules*,
 Led nine swift vessels thro' the foamy seas;
 From *Rhodes* with everlasting sunshine bright, 795
Jalyſſus, *Lyndus*, and *Camirus* white.
 His captive mother fierce *Alcides* bore
 From *Ephyr's* walls, and *Selle's* winding shore,
 Where mighty towns in ruins spread the plain,
 And saw their blooming warriors early slain. 800
 The Hero, when to manly years he grew,
Alcides' uncle, old *Lycymnius*, flew;
 For this constrain'd to quit his native place,
 And shun the vengeance of th' *Herculean* race,
 A fleet he built, and with a num'rous train 805
 Of willing exiles, wander'd o'er the main;

Where

Where many seas and many suff'rings past,
 On happy *Rhodes* the chief arriv'd at last:
 There in three tribes divides his native band,
 And rules them peaceful in a foreign land; 810
 Encreas'd and prosper'd in their new abodes,
 By mighty *Jove*, the fire of men and Gods;
 With joy they saw the growing empire rise,
 And show'rs of wealth descending from the skies.

Three ships with *Nireus* fought the *Trojan* shore,
Nireus, whom *Aglæe* to *Charopus* bore, 816
Nireus, in faultless shape, and blooming grace,
 The loveliest youth of all the *Grecian* race;
Pelides only match'd his early charms;
 But few his troops, and small his strength in arms. 820

Next thirty galleys cleave the liquid plain,
 Of those, *Calydnæ's* sea-girt isles contain;
 With them the youth of *Nisyros* repair
Casus the strong, and *Crapathus* the fair;

Cos,

V. 815. *Three ships with Nireus.*] This leader is no where mentioned but in these lines, and is an exception to the observation of *Macrobius*, that all the persons of the catalogue make their appearance afterwards in the poem. *Homer* himself gives us the reason, because *Nireus* had but a small share of worth and valour; his Quality only giving him a privilege to be named among men. The Poet has caused him to be remembered no less than *Achilles* or *Ulysses*, but yet in no better manner than he deserved, whose only qualification was his beauty: 'Tis by a bare repetition of his name three times, which just leaves some impression of him on the mind of the reader. Many others of as trivial memory as *Nireus*, have been preserved by Poets from oblivion; but few Poets have ever done this favour to want of merit, with so much judgment. *Demetrius Phalereus* περὶ Ἑρμηνείας, sect. 61. takes notice of this beautiful repetition, which in a just deference to so delicate a Critick is here preserved in the translation.

Cos, where *Eurypylus* possesst the sway, 825

'Till great *Alcides* made the realms obey :

These *Antiphus* and bold *Phidippus* bring,

Sprung from the God, by *Thessalus* the King.

Now, Muse, recount *Pelagic Argus*' pow'rs,

From *Alos*, *Alorè*, and *Trechin*'s tow'rs; 830

From *Phthia*'s spacious vales; and *Hella*, blest

With female beauty far beyond the rest.

Full fifty ships beneath *Achilles*' care

Th' *Achanians*, *Myrmidons*, *Hellenians* bear;

Thessalians all, tho' various in their name, 835

The same their nation, and their chief the same.

But now inglorious, stretch'd along the shore,

They hear the brazen voice of war no more;

No more the foe they face in dire array;

Close in his fleet their angry leader lay; 840

Since fair *Brisëis* from his arms was torn,

The noblest spoil from sack'd *Lyrnessus* borne,

Then, when the chief the *Theban* walls o'erthrew,

And the bold sons of great *Evenus* flew.

There mourn'd *Achilles*, plung'd in depth of care, 845

But soon to rise in slaughter, blood, and war.

To these the youth of *Phylacè* succeed,

Itona, famous for her fleecy breed,

And grassy *Pteleon* deck'd with chearful greens,

The bow'rs of *Ceres*, and the sylvan scenes, 850

Sweet *Pyrrhæus*, with blooming flourets crown'd,

And *Antren*'s wat'ry dens, and cavern'd ground.

These own'd as chief *Protesilas* the brave :

Who now lay silent in the gloomy grave :

The first who boldly touch'd the *Trojan* shore, 855

And dy'd a *Phrygian* lance with *Grecian* gore;

There

There lies, far distant from his native plain;
 Unfinish'd, his proud palaces remain,
 And his sad consort beats her breast in vain.
 His troops in forty ships *Podarces* led,
Iphiclus' son, and brother to the dead:
 Nor he unworthy to command the host;
 Yet still they mourn'd their ancient leader lost.

}
 }
 860

The men who *Glaphyra*'s fair soil partake,
 Where hills encircle *Bæbe*'s lowly lake,
 Where *Pheræ* hears the neighb'ring waters fall,
 Or proud *Iolcus* lifts her airy wall.
 In ten black ships embark'd for *Ilion*'s shore,
 With bold *Eumelus*, whom *Alceste* bore:
 All *Pelias*' race *Alceste* far outshin'd,
 The grace and glory of the beauteous kind.

865

870

The troops *Methonè*, or *Thaumacia* yields,
Olizon's rocks, or *Melibæa*'s fields,
 With *Philoctetes* sail'd, whose matchless art
 From the tough bow directs the feather'd dart.
 Sev'n were his ships; each vessel fifty row,
 Skill'd in his science of the dart and bow.
 But he lay raging on the *Lemnian* ground,
 A pois'nous *Hydra* gave the burning wound;
 There groan'd the chief in agonizing pain,
 Whom *Greece* at length shall wish, nor wish in vain.

875

880

His

V. 871. *The grace and glory of the beauteous kind.*] He gives *Alceste* this eulogy of the glory of her sex, for her conjugal piety, who died to preserve the life of her husband *Admetus*. *Euripides* has a tragedy on this subject, which abounds in the most masterly strokes of tenderness: In particular the first act, which contains the description of her preparation for death, and of her behaviour in it, can never be enough admired.

His forces *Medon* led from *Lemnos*' shore,
Oileus' son whom beauteous *Rhena* bore.

Th' *Oechalian* race, in those high tow'rs contain'd,
 Where once *Eurytus* in proud triumph reign'd, 885
 Or where her humble turrets *Tricca* rears,
 Or where *Ithomè*, rough with rocks, appears;
 In thirty sail the sparkling waves divide,
 Which *Podalirius* and *Machaon* guide.

To these his skill their * Parent-God imparts, 890
 Divine professors of the healing arts.

The bold *Ormenian* and *Asterian* bands
 In forty barks *Eurypylus* commands,
 Where *Titan* hides his hoary head in snow,
 And where *Hyperia*'s silver fountains flow.

Thy troops, *Argissa*, *Polypætes* leads,
 And *Eleon*, shelter'd by *Olympus*' shades,
Gyrtonè's warriors; and where *Orthè* lies,
 And *Oloësson*'s chalky cliffs arise.

Sprung from *Pirithoüs* of immortal race, 900
 The fruit of fair *Hippodamè*'s embrace.

(That day, when hurl'd from *Pelion*'s cloudy head,
 To distant dens the shaggy *Centaurs* fled)
 With *Polypætes* join'd in equal sway
Leonteus leads, and forty ships obey. 905

In twenty sail the bold *Perrhæbians* came
 From *Cyphus*, *Guneus* was their leader's name.

With

* *Æsculapius*.

V. 906. *In twenty ships the bold Perrhæbians came.*] I cannot tell whether it be worth observing that, except *Ogilby*, I have not met one translator who has exactly preserved the number of the ships. *Chapman* puts eighteen under *Eumelus* instead

With these the *Enians* join'd, and those who freeze
 Where old *Dodona* lifts her holy trees :
 Or where the pleasing *Titaresius* glides, 910
 And in *Peneus* rolls his easy tides ;
 Yet o'er the silver surface pure they flow,
 The sacred stream unmix'd with streams below,
 Sacred and awful ! From the dark abodes
Styx pours them forth, the dreadful oath of Gods ! 915
 Last under *Prothous* the *Magnesians* stood,
Prothous the swift, of old *Tenthredon's* blood ;
 Who dwell where *Pelion*, crown'd with piny boughs,
 Obscures the glade, and nods his shaggy brows :
 Or where thro' flow'ry *Tempè* *Peneus* stray'd, 920
 (The region stretch'd beneath his mighty shade.)
 In forty fable barks they stem'd the main ;
 Such were the chiefs, and such the *Grecian* train.

Say next, O Muse ! of all *Achaïa* breeds,
 Who bravest fought, or rein'd the noblest steeds ? 925
Eumelus'

instead of eleven : *Hobbes* but twenty under *Ascalaphus* and *Ialmen* instead of thirty, and but thirty under *Menelaus* instead of sixty. *Valerie* (the former *French* translator) has given *Agapenor* forty for sixty, and *Nestor* forty for ninety : *Madam Dacier* gives *Nestor* but eighty. I must confess this translation not to have been quite so exact as *Ogilby's*, having cut off one from the number of *Eumelus's* ships, and two from those of *Guneus* : Eleven and two and twenty would sound but oddly in *English* verse, and a poem contracts a littleness by insisting on such trivial niceties.

V. 925. Or reign'd the noblest steeds.] This coupling together the men and horses seems odd enough, but *Homer* every where treats these noble animals with remarkable regard. We need not wonder at this enquiry, which were the best horses ? from him who makes his horses of heavenly extraction as well as his heroes ; who makes his warriors address them with speeches, and excite them by all those motives which affect a human breast ; who describes them shedding
 tears

Eumelus' mares were foremost in the chace,
 As eagles fleet, and of *Pheretian* race;
 Bred where *Pieria's* fruitful mountains flow,
 And train'd by him who bears the silver bow.
 Fierce in the fight, their nostrils breath'd a flame, 930
 Their height, their colour, and their age the same;
 O'er fields of death they whirl the rapid car,
 And break the ranks, and thunder thro' the war.
Ajax in arms the first renown acquir'd,
 While stern *Achilles* in his wrath retir'd: 935
 (His was the strength that mortal might exceeds,
 And his, th' unrival'd race of heav'nly steeds)
 But *Thetis'* son now shines in arms no more;
 His troops neglected on the sandy shore,

In

tears of sorrow, and even capable of voice and prophecy: In most of which points *Virgil* has not scrupled to imitate him.

V. 939. *His troops, &c.*] The image in these lines of the amusements of the *Myrmidons*, while *Achilles* detained them from the fight, has an exquisite propriety in it. Tho' they are not in action, their very diversions are military, and a kind of exercise of arms. The covered chariots and feeding horses, make a natural part of the picture; and nothing is finer than the manly concern of the captains, who as they are supposed more sensible of glory than the soldiers, take no share in their diversions, but wander sorrowfully round the camp, and lament their being kept from the battle. This difference betwixt the soldiers and the leaders (as *Dacier* observes) is a decorum of the highest beauty. *Milton* has admirably imitated this in the description he gives in his second book of the diversions of the angels during the absence of *Lucifer*.

Part on the plain, or in the air sublime,
 Upon the wing, or in swift race contend;
 Part curb their fiery steeds, or shun the goal
 With rapid wheels, or fronted brigades form.

But

In empty air their sportive jav'lines throw, 940
 Or whirl the disk, or bend an idle bow :
 Unstain'd with blood his cover'd chariots stand ;
 Th' immortal coursers graze along the strand ;
 But the brave Chiefs th' inglorious life deplor'd,
 And wand'ring o'er the camp, requir'd their Lord. 945

Now, like a deluge, cov'ring all around,
 The shining armies swept along the ground ;
 Swift as a flood of fire, when storms arise,
 Floats the wide field, and blazes to the skies.
 Earth groan'd beneath them ; as when angry *Jove* 950
 Hurls down the forky lightning from above,

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L

On

But how nobly and judiciously has he raised the image, in proportion to the nature of those more exalted beings, in that which follows ?

*Others with vast Typhœan rage more fell
 Rend up both rocks and hills, and ride the air
 In whirlwind ; hell scarce holds the wild uproar.*

950. *As when angry Jove.*] The comparison preceding this, of a fire which runs through the corn and blazes to heaven, had express'd at once the dazzling of their arms and the swiftness of their march. After which, *Homer* having mentioned the sound of their feet, superadds another simile, which comprehends both the ideas of the brightness and the noise : for here (says *Eusebius*) the earth appears to *burn* and *groan* at the same time. Indeed the first of these similes is so full and so noble, that it scarce seem'd possible to be exceeded by any image drawn from nature. But *Homer*, to raise it yet higher, has gone into the *marvellous*, given a prodigious and supernatural prospect, and brought down *Jupiter* himself, arrayed in all his terrors, to discharge his lightnings and thunders on *Typhœus*. The Poet breaks out into this description with an air of enthusiasm, which greatly heightens the image in general, while it seems to transport him beyond the limits of an exact comparison. And this daring manner is particular to our author above all the ancients, and to *Milton* above all the moderns.

On *Arimè* when he the thunder throws,
And fires *Typhæus* with redoubled blows,
Where *Typhon*, prest beneath the burning load,
Still feels the fury of th' avenging God. 955

But various *Iris*, *Jove's* commands to bear,
Speeds on the wings of winds thro' liquid air;
In *Priam's* porch the *Trojan* chiefs she found,
The old consulting, and the youths around.
Polites' shape, the monarch's son, she chose, 960
Who from *Æfetes'* tomb observ'd the foes,
High on the mound; from whence in prospect lay
The fields, the tents, the navy and the bay.
In this dissembled form, she hastes to bring
Th' unwelcome message to the *Phrygian* King. 965

Cease to consult, the time for action calls,
War, horrid war, approaches to your walls!
Assembled armies oft' have I beheld;
But ne'er till now such numbers charg'd a field.
Thick as autumnal leaves, or driving sand, 970
The moving squadrons blacken all the strand.
Thou, God-like *Hector*! all thy force employ,
Assemble all th' united bands of *Troy*;
In just array let ev'ry leader call
The foreign troops: This day demands them all. 975

The voice divine the mighty chief alarms;
The council breaks, the warriors rush to arms,
The gates unfolding pour forth all their train,
Nations on nations fill the dusky plain. 979
Men, steeds, and chariots shake the trembling ground;
The tumult thickens, and the skies resound.
Amidst the plain in sight of *Ilion* stands
A rising mount, the work of human hands;

(This

(This for *Myrinnè's* tomb th' immortals know,
 Tho' call'd *Bateïa* in the world below) 985
 Beneath their chiefs in martial order here,
 Th' auxiliary troops and *Trojan* hosts appear.
 The god-like *Hector*, high above the rest,
 Shakes his huge spear, and nods his plumed crest :
 In throngs around his native bands repair, 990
 And groves of lances glitter in the air.

Divine *Æneas* brings the *Dardan* race,
Anchises' son, by *Venus'* stolen embrace,
 Born in the shades of *Ida's* secret grove,
 (A mortal mixing with the Queen of Love) 995
Archilochus and *Acamas* divide
 The warrior's toils, and combat by his side.

Who fair *Zeleia's* wealthy vallies till,
 Fast by the foot of *Ida's* sacred hill ;
 Or drink, *Æsepus*, of thy fabled flood ; 1000
 Were led by *Pandarus*, of royal blood.
 To whom his art *Apollo* deign'd to show,
 Grac'd with the present of his shafts and bow.

From rich *Apæsus* and *Adraffia's* tow'rs,
 High *Teree's* summits, and *Pityea's* bow'rs ; 1005
 From these the congregated troops obey
 Young *Amphius* and *Adraffus'* equal sway ;
 Old *Merops'* sons ; whom, skill'd in fates to come,
 The Sire forewarn'd, and prophesy'd their doom :
 Fate urg'd them on ! the fire forewarn'd in vain, 1010
 They rush'd to war, and perish'd on the plain.

From *Praëtus'* stream, *Percotè's* pasture lands,
 And *Sestos* and *Abydos'* neighb'ring strands,

L 2

From

V. 1012. From *Praëtus'* stream, *Percotè's* pasture lands]
 Homer does not expressly mention *Praëtus* as a river, but *Stra-*
bo,

From great *Arisbas*' walls and *Selle*'s coast,
Asius Hyrtacides conducts his host : 1015
 High on his car he shakes the flowing reins,
 His fiery courfers thunder o'er the plains.

The fierce *Pelasgi* next, in war renown'd,
 March from *Larissa*'s ever-fertile ground :
 In equal arms their brother leaders shine, 1020
Hippothous bold, and *Pyleus* the divine.

Next *Acamas* and *Pyrrhus* lead their hosts
 In dread array, from *Thracia*'s wintry coasts;
 Round the bleak realms where *Hellepontus* roars,
 And *Boreas* beats the hoarse-resounding shores. 1025

With great *Euphemus* the *Ciconians* move,
 Sprung from *Træzenian Cæus*, lov'd by *Jove*.
Pyræchmes the *Paonian* troops attend,
 Skill'd in the fight their crooked bows to bend;
 From *Axius*' ample bed he leads them on, 1030
Axius, that laves the distant *Amydon*,
Axius, that swells with all his neighb'ring rills,
 And wide around the floated region fills.

The *Paphlagonians Pylemenes* rules,
 Where rich *Henetia* breeds her savage mules, 1035
 Where *Erythæus*' rising cliffs are seen,
 Thy groves of box, *Cytoreus* ! ever green;
 And where *Ægialus* and *Cromna* lie,
 And lofty *Sesamus* invades the sky;
 And where *Parthenius*, roll'd thro' banks of flow'rs,
 Reflects her bord'ring palaces and bow'rs. 1041
 Here

be, lib. 13. tells us it is to be understood so in this passage.
 The appellative of pasture lands to *Percote* is justified in the
 15th *Iliad*. v. 646. where *Melannippus* the son of *Hicetæus* is
 said to feed his oxen in that place.

Here march'd in arms, the *Halizonian* band,
Whom *Odius* and *Epistrophus* command,
From those far regions where the sun refines
The ripening silver in *Alybean* mines. 1045

There mighty *Chromis* led the *Myſian* train,
And Augur *Eunomus*, inspir'd in vain,
For stern *Achilles* lopt his ſacred head;
Roll'd down *Scamander* with the vulgar dead.

Phorcys and brave *Ascanius* here unite 1050
Th' *Ascanian Phrygians*, eager for the fight.

Of thoſe who round *Mæonia's* realms reſide,
Or whom the vales in ſhade of *Tmolus* hide,
Meſſes and *Antiphus* the charge partake;
Born on the banks of *Gyges'* ſilent lake. 1055

There, from the fields where wild *Mæander* flows,
High *Mycalè*, and *Latmos'* ſhady brows,
And proud *Miletus*, came the *Carian* throngs,
With mingled clamours, and with barb'rous tongues,
Amphimachus and *Naufus* guide the train, 1060
Naufus the bold; *Amphimachus* the vain,
Who trick'd with gold, and glitt'ring on his car,
Role like a Woman to the field of war.
Fool that he was! by fierce *Achilles* ſlain,

The river ſwept him to the briny main: 1065
There whelm'd with waves the gaudy warrior lies;
The valiant victor ſeiz'd the golden prize.

The forces laſt in fair array ſucceed,
Which blameleſs *Glaucus* and *Sarpedon* led;
The warlike bands that diſtant *Lycia* yields, 1070
Where gulphy *Xanthus* foams along the fields.

OBSERVATIONS on the CATALOGUE.

IF we look upon this piece with an eye to ancient learning, it may be observed, that however fabulous the other parts of *Homer's* poem may be, according to the nature of Epic poetry; this account of the people, princes, and countries, is purely historical, founded on the real transactions of those times, and by far the most valuable piece of history and geography left us concerning the state of *Greece* in that early period. *Greece* was then divided into several Dynasties, which our Author has enumerated under their respective princes; and his division was looked upon so exact, that we are told of many controversies concerning the boundaries of *Grecian* cities, which have been decided upon the authority of this piece. *Eustathius* has collected together the following instances. The city of *Calydon* was adjudged to the *Ætolians*, notwithstanding the pretensions of *Æolia*, because *Homer* had ranked it among the towns belonging to the former. *Sestos* was given to those of *Abydos*, upon the plea that he had said the *Abydonians* were possessors of *Sestos*, *Abydos*, and *Arisbe*. When the *Milesians* and people of *Ariene* disputed their claim to *Mycale*, a verse of *Homer* carried it in favour of the *Milesians*. And the *Athenians* were put in possession of *Salamis* by another which was cited by *Solon*, (or as some think) interpolated by him for that purpose.

purpose. Nay, in so high estimation has this catalogue been held, that (as *Porphyry* has written) there have been laws in some nations for the youth to learn it by heart, and particularly *Cerdias* (whom *Cuperus de Apophth. Homerij* takes to be *Cercydas*, a Law giver of the *Megalopolitans*) made it one to his countrymen.

But if we consider the catalogue purely as poetical, it will not want its beauties in that light. *Rapin*, who was none of the most superstitious admirers of our Author, reckons it among those parts, which had particularly charmed him. We may observe first, what an air of probability is spread over the whole poem, by the particularizing of every nation and people concerned in this war. Secondly, what an entertaining scene he presents to us, of so many countries drawn in their liveliest and most natural colours, while we wander along with him amidst a beautiful variety of towns, havens, forests, vineyards, groves, mountains, and rivers; and are perpetually amused with his observations on the different soils, products, situations, or prospects. Thirdly, what a noble review he passes before us of so mighty an army, drawn out in-order troop by troop; which, had the number only been told in the gross, had never filled the reader with so great a notion of the importance of the action. Fourthly, the description of the differing arms and manner of fighting of the soldiers, and the various attitudes he has given to the commanders: Of these leaders, the greatest part are either the immediate sons of Gods, or the descendants of Gods; and how great an idea must we have of a war, to the

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waging

waging of which so many Demi-gods and heroes are assembled? Fifthly, the several artful compliments he paid by this means to his own country in general, and many of his contemporaries in particular, by a celebration of the genealogies, ancient feats, and dominions of the great men of his time. Sixthly, the agreeable mixture of narrations from passages of history or fables, with which he amuses and relieves us at proper intervals. And lastly, the admirable judgment wherewith he introduces this whole catalogue, just at a time when the posture of affairs in the army rendered such a review of absolute necessity to the *Greeks*; and in a pause of action, while each was refreshing himself to prepare for the ensuing battles.

Macrobius in his *Saturnalia*, lib. 5. cap. 15 has given us a judicious piece of criticism, in the comparison betwixt the catalogues of *Homer* and *Virgil*, in which he justly allows the preference to our author, for the following reasons. *Homer* (says he) has begun his description from the most noted promontory of *Greece*, (he means that of *Aulis*, where was the narrowest passage to *Eubœa*). From thence with a regular progress he describes either the maritime or mediterranean towns, as their situations are contiguous: He never passes with sudden leaps from place to place, omitting those which lie between; but proceeding like a traveller in the way he has begun, constantly returns to the place from whence he digressed, till he finishes the whole circle he designed. *Virgil*, on the contrary, has observed no order in the regions described in his catalogue, l. 10. but is perpetually breaking from the course of the country in a loose
and

and desultory manner. You have *Clusum* and *Cesæ* at the beginning, next, *Populonia* and *Ilva*, then *Pisæ*, which lie at a vast distance in *Etruria*; and immediately after *Cerete*, *Pyræi*, and *Gravisæ*, places adjacent to *Rome*: From hence he is snatched to *Liguria*, then to *Mantua*. The same negligence is observable in his enumeration of the aids that followed *Turnus*, in *l. 7*. *Macrobius* next remarks, that all the persons that are named by *Homer* in his catalogue, are afterwards introduced in his battles, and whenever any others are killed, he mentions only a multitude in general. Whereas *Virgil* (he continues) has spared himself the labour of that exactness; for not only several whom he mentions in the list, are never heard of in the war, but others make a figure in the war, of whom we had no notice in the list. For example; he specifies a thousand men under *Massicus* who came from *Clusum*, *l. 10. v. 167*. *Turnus* soon afterwards is in the ship which had carried King *Osinius* from the same place, *l. 10. v. 653*. This *Osinius* was never named before, nor is it probable a King should serve under *Massicus*. Nor indeed does either *Massicus* or *Osinius* ever make their appearance in the battles.—He proceeds to instance several others, who, tho' celebrated for heroes in the catalogue, have no farther notice taken of them throughout the poem. In the third place he animadverts upon the confusion of the same names in *Virgil*: As where *Corinaeus* in the ninth book is killed by *Asylus*, *v. 571*. and *Corinaeus* in the twelfth book kills *Elusus*, *v. 298*. *Numa* is slain by *Nisus*, *l. 9. v. 554*. and *Æneas* is afterwards in pursuit of *Numa*, *l. 10.*

v. 562. *Æneas* kills *Camertes* in the tenth book, v. 562. and *Juturna* assumes his shape in the twelfth, v. 224. He observes the same obscurity in his *Patro-nymics*. There is *Palinurus Iasides*, and *Iapix Iasides*, *Hippocoon Hyrtacides*, and *Asylas Hyrtacides*. On the contrary, the caution of *Homer* is remarkable, who having two of the name of *Ajax*, is constantly careful to distinguish them by *Oileus* or *Telamonius*, the lesser or the greater *Ajax*.

I know nothing to be alledged in defence of *Virgil*, in answer to this author, but the common excuse that his *Æneis* was left unfinished. And upon the whole, these are such trivial slips, as great Wits may pass over, and little Criticks may rejoice at.

But *Macrobius* has another remark, which one may accuse of evident partiality on the side of *Homer*. He blames *Virgil* for having varied the expression in his catalogue, to avoid the repetition of the same words, and prefers the bare and unadorned reiterations of *Homer*; who begins almost every article the same way, and ends perpetually, *Μέλαιναι νῆες ἑποῖο, &c.* Perhaps the best reason to be given for this, had been the artless manner of the first times, when such repetitions were not thought ungraceful. This may appear from several of the like nature in the scripture; as in the twenty-sixth chapter of *Numbers*, where the tribes of *Israel* are enumerated in the plains of *Moab*, and each division recounted in the same words. So in the seventh chapter of the *Revelations*: *Of the tribe of Gad were sealed twelve thousand, &c.* But the words of *Macrobius* are, *Has copias fortasse putat aliquis divinæ illi simplicitati præferendas. Sed nescio*

nescio quo modo Homerum repetitio illa unicè decet, & est genio antiqui Poetae digna. This is exactly in the spirit, and almost in the cant, of a true modern critic. The *simplicitas*, the *Vescio quo modo*, the *Genio antiqui Poetae digna*, are excellent general phrases for those who have no reasons. *Simplicity* is our word of disguise for a shameful unpoetical neglect of expression: The term of the *Je ne sçay quoy* is the very support of all ignorant pretenders to delicacy; and to lift up our eyes and talk of the *Genius of an ancient*, is at once the cheapest way of shewing our own taste, and the shortest way of criticizing the wit of others our contemporaries.

One may add to the foregoing comparison of these two authors, some reasons for the length of *Homer's*, and the shortness of *Virgil's* catalogue. As, that *Homer* might have a design to settle the geography of his country, there being no description of *Greece* before his days, which was not the case with *Virgil*. *Homer's* concern was to compliment *Greece* at a time when it was divided into many distinct states, each of which might expect a place in his catalogue: But when all *Italy* was swallowed up in the sole dominion of *Rome*, *Virgil* had only *Rome* to celebrate. *Homer* had a numerous army, and was to describe an important war with great and various events, whereas *Virgil's* sphere was much more confined. The ships of the *Greeks* were computed at about one thousand two hundred, those of *Aeneas* and his aids but at two and forty; and as the time of the action of both poems is the same, we may suppose the built of their ships, and the number of men they contained, to be much alike.

alike. So that if the army of *Homer* amounts to about a hundred thousand men, that of *Virgil* cannot be above four thousand. If any one be farther curious to know upon what this computation is founded, he may see it in the following passage of *Thucydides*, lib. 1. "*Homer's* fleet (says he) consisted of
" one thousand two hundred vessels; those of the
" *Bæotians* carried one hundred and twenty men in
" each, and those of *Philoctetes* fifty. By these I
" suppose *Homer* exprest the largest and the smallest
" size of ships, and therefore mentions no other sort.
" But he tells us of those who sailed with *Philoctetes*,
" that they served both as mariners and soldiers, in
" saying the rowers were all of them archers. From
" hence the whole number will be seen, if we estimate the ships at a medium between the greatest
" and the least." That is to say, at eighty five men to each vessel (which is the mean between fifty and a hundred and twenty) the total comes to a hundred and two thousand men. *Plutarch* was therefore in a mistake, when he computed the men at a hundred and twenty thousand, which proceeded from his supposing a hundred and twenty in every ship; the contrary to which appears from the above-mentioned ships of *Philoctetes*, as well as from those of *Achilles*, which are said to carry but fifty men a piece, in the sixteenth *Iliad*, v. 207.

Besides *Virgil's* imitation of this catalogue, there has scarce been any Epic writer but has copied after it; which is at least a proof how beautiful this part has been ever esteemed by the finest genius's in all ages. The catalogues in the ancient Poets are generally

rally known, only I must take notice that the *Phocian* and *Boeotian* towns in the fourth *Thebaid* of *Statius* are translated from hence. Of the moderns, those who most excel, owe their beauty to the imitation of some single particular only of *Homer*. Thus the chief grace of *Tasso's* catalogue consists in the description of the heroes, without any thing remarkable on the side of the countries: Of the pieces of story he has interwoven, that of *Tancred's* amour to *Clarinda* is ill-placed, and evidently too long for the rest. *Spencer's* enumeration of the *British* and *Irish* rivers in the eleventh canto of his fourth book, is one of the noblest in the world; if we consider his subject was more confined, and can excuse his not observing the order or course of the country; but his variety of description, and fruitfulness of imagination, are nowhere more admirable than in that part. *Milton's* list of the fallen angels in his first book is an exact imitation of *Homer*, as far as regards the digressions of history, and antiquities, and his manner of inserting them: In all else I believe it must be allowed inferior. And indeed what *Macrobius* has said to cast *Virgil* below *Homer*, will fall much more strongly upon all the rest.

I had some cause to fear that this catalogue, which contributed so much to the success of the Author, should ruin that of the Translator. A mere heap of proper names, tho' but for a few lines together, could afford little entertainment to an *English* reader, who probably could not be apprized either of the necessity or beauty of this part of the Poem. There were but two things to be done to give it a chance to please him;

him; to render the versification very flowing and musical, and to make the whole appear as much a *landscape* or *piece of painting* as possible. For both of these I had the example of *Homer* in general; and *Virgil*, who found the necessity in another age to give more into description, seemed to authorize the latter in particular. *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*, in his discourse of the *Structure and disposition of words*, professes to admire nothing more than that harmonious exactness with which *Homer* has placed these words, and softened the syllables into each other, so as to derive musick from a croud of names, which have in themselves no beauty or dignity. I would flatter myself that I have practised this not unsuccessfully in our language, which is more susceptible of all the variety and power of numbers than any of the modern, and second to none but the *Greek* and *Roman*. For the latter point, I have ventured to open the prospect a little, by the addition of a few epithets or short hints of description to some of the places mentioned; though seldom exceeding the compass of half a verse, (the space to which my Author himself generally confines these pictures in miniature.) But this has never been done without the best authorities from the ancients, which may be seen under the respective names in the Geographical Table following.

The table itself I thought but necessary to annex to the map, as my warrant for the situations assigned in it to several of the towns. For in whatever maps I have seen to this purpose, many of the places are omitted, or else set down at random. *Sophianus* and *Gerbélius* have laboured to settle the geography of old
Greece.

Greece, many of whose mistakes were rectified by *Laurenbergius*. These however deserved a greater commendation than those who succeeded them; and particularly *Sanfon's* map, prefixed to *Du Pin's Bibliothèque Historique*, is miserably defective both in omissions and false placings; which I am obliged to mention, as it pretends to be designed expressly for this catalogue of *Homer*. I am persuaded the greater part of my readers will have no curiosity this way, however they may allow me the endeavour of gratifying those few who have: The rest are at liberty to pass the two or three following leaves unread.

*A GEOGRAPHICAL TABLE of the Towns,
&c. in HOMER'S Catalogue of Greece,
with the Authorities for their situation, as
placed in this Map.*

**BOEOTIA, under five Captains; Pene-
leus, &c. containing,**

AULIS, a haven on the *Eubæan* sea opposite to *Chalcis*, where the passage to *Eubæa* is narrowest. *Strabo*, lib. 9.

Eteon, *Homer* describes it a hilly country, and *Statius* after him — *densamque jugis Eteonen iniquis*. *Theb.* 7.

Hyrie, a town and lake of the same name, belonging to the territory of *Tanagra* or *Græa*. *Strab.* l. 9.

Schænus, it lay in the road between *Thebes* and *Anthedon*, 50 stadia from *Thebes*. *Strab.* *Ibid.*

Scholos, a town under mount *Cytheron*. *Ibid.*

Thespia, near *Haliartus* under mount *Helicon*.

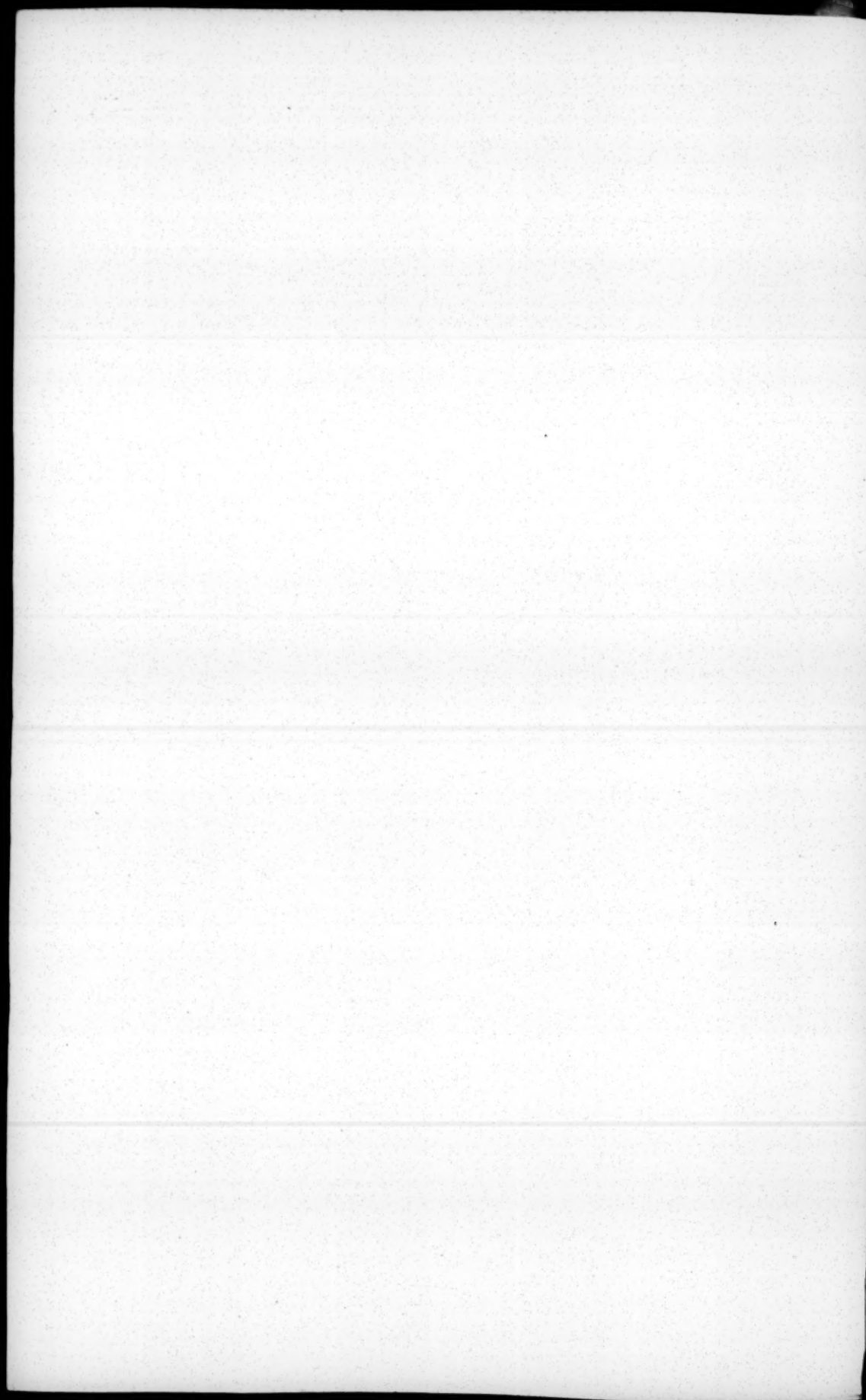
Paus. *Bæot.* Near the *Corinthian* bay. *Strab.* l. 9.

Græa, the same with *Tanagra*, 30 stadia from *Aulis*, on the *Eubæan* sea; by this place the river *Asopus* falls into that sea. *Ibid.*

Mycaleffus, between *Thebes* and *Chalcis*. *Paus.* *Bæot.* Near *Tanagra* or *Græa*. *Strab.* l. 9. Famous for its pine-trees. — *Pinigeris Mycaleffus in agris*. *Statius*, l. 7.

Harma, close by *Mycaleffus*. *Strab.* l. 9. This town as well as the former lay near the road from *Thebes* to *Chalcis*. *Paus.* *Bæot.* It was here that *Amphiaraus* was swallowed by the earth in his chariot,





riot, from whence it
ived its name. *Strab.*

lesion, it was situate in
fens near *Heleon* and
e, not far from *Tana-*

These three places
their names from be-
fo seated (*ἑλός*, *Pa-*
) *Strabo*, l. 9.

Erythræ, in the con-
s of *Attica* near
ataa. *Thucyd.* l. 3.—

pecorum comitantur
thræ. *Stat. Theb.* 7.

Peteon, in the way from
ebes to *Anthedon*. *Strab.*

Ocalea, in the mid-way
wixt *Haliartus* and
alcomenes. *Ibid.*

Medeon, near *Onchestus*.
Ibid.

Copæ, a town on the
e *Copais*, by the river
phissus, next *Orchome-*
Ibid.

Eutresis, a small town
the *Thespians* near
isbe. *Ibid.*

Thisbe, under the mount
licon. *Paus. Bæot.*

Coronea, seated on the
phissus, where it falls
to the lake *Copais*. *Strab.*
l. 9.

Haliartus, on the same
e, *Strab. Ibid.* Border-

ing on *Ceronea* and *Pla-*
taa. *Paus. Bæot.*

Plataea, between *Cithe-*
ron and *Thebes*, divided
from the latter by the river
Asopus. *Strab.* l. 9. *Vi-*
ridesque Plataas. *Stat.*
Th. 7.

Gliffa, in the territory
of *Thebes*, abounding with
vines. *Baccho Glisanta-*
colentes. *Stat. Th.* 7.

Thebe, situate between
the rivers *Ismenus* and
Asopus. *Strab.* l. 9.

Onchestus, on the lake
Copais. The grove conse-
crated to *Neptune* in this
place, and celebrated by
Homer, together with a
temple and statue of that
God, were shewn in the
time of *Pausanias*. *Vide*
Bæot.

Arne, seated on the
same lake, famous for
vines. *Strab. Hom.*

Midea, on the same
lake. *Ibid.*

Nissa, or *Nysa* (*apud*
Statium) or according to
Strabo, l. 9. *Isa*; near
Anthedon.

Anthedon, a city on the
sea-side opposite to *Eu-*
bæa, the utmost on the
shore towards *Locris*.
Strab. l. 9. *Teque ultima*
tractu

tractu Anthedon. Statius, l. 7.

Aspledon, 20 stadia from Orchomenus, Strab. l. 9.

Orchomenus, and the plains about it, being the most spacious of all in

Bœotia (Plutarch in vit. Syllæ, circa medium.)

Homer distinguishes these two last from the rest of Bœotia. They were commanded by Ascalaphus and Ialmen.

PHOCIS, under Schedius and Epistrophus, containing,

Cyparissus, the same with Anticyrrha according to Pausanias, on the bay of Corinth.

Pytho, adjoining to Parnassus: some think it the same with Delphi. Pausan. Phocic.

Crissa, a sea-town on the bay of Corinth near Cyrrha. Strab. l. 9.

Daulis, upon the Cephissus at the foot of Parnassus. Ibid.

Panopea, upon the same

river, adjoining to Orchomenia, just by Hyampolis or Anemoria. Ibid.

Hyampolis, Anemoria, { both the same according to Strab. Ibid. confining upon Locris. Paus. Phoc.

Lilea, at the head of the river Cephissus, just on the edge of Phocis. Ibid. propellentemque Lileam Cephissi glaciale caput. Stat. l. 7.

LOCRIS, under Ajax Oïleus, containing,

Cynus, a maritime town towards Eubœa. Strab. l. 9.

Opus, a Locrian city, 15 stadia from the sea, adjacent to Panopea in Phocis. Ibid.

Calliarus.

Bessa, so called from being covered with shrubs. Strab. l. 9.

Scarphe, seated between Thronium and Thermo-

pyle, ten stadia from the sea. Ibid.

Augiæ.

Tarphe.

Phronius, on the Melian bay. Strab. l. 9.

Boagrius, a river that passes by Thronius, and runs into the bay of Oeta, between Cynus and Scarphe. Ibid.

All these opposite to the isle of Eubœa.

EUBOEÆ,

EUBOEAE, under Elephenor, containing,

Chalcis, the city nearest to the continent of *Greece*, just opposite to *Aulis* in *Bœotia*, *Strab.* l. 10.

Eretria, between *Chalcis* and *Gereſtus*. *Ibid.*

Histiæa, a town with vine-yards over against *Thessaly*. *Herod.* l. 7.

Cerinthus, on the sea-shore. *Hom.* Near the

river *Budorus*. *Strab.* l. 10.

Dios, seated high. *Hom.* Near *Histiæa*. *Strab.* *Ib.*

Caryſtos, a city at the foot of the mountain *Ocha*. *Strab.* *Ib.* Between *Eretria* and *Gereſtus*. *Ptolem.* l. 3.

Styra, a town near *Caryſtos*. *Strab.* *Ib.*

ATHENS, under Menestheus.

The Isle of SALAMIS, under Ajax Telamon.

PELOPONNESUS, the East Part divided into Argia and Mycenæ, under Agamemnon, contains,

Argos, 40 stadia from the sea. *Paus.* *Corin.*

Tirynthe, between *Argos* and *Epidaurus*. *Ib.*

{ Three cities lying in this order on the bay of *Hermione*. *Strab.* l. 8. *Paus.* *Corinth.* *Træzene* was seated high, and *Asine* a rocky coast. *Altaque Træzene*. *Ovid.* *Fast.* 2.—*Quos Asine cautes.* *Lucan.* l. 8.

Asine,
Hermion,
Træzene,

Eionæ was on the sea-side, for *Strabo* tells us the people of *Mycenæ* made it a station for their ships. *lib.* 8.

Epidaurus, a town and little island adjoining, in the inner part of the *Saronic* bay. *Strab.* l. 8. It was fruitful in vines in *Homer's* time.

The isle of *Ægina*, over against *Epidaurus*.

Mafeta belongs to the *Argolic* shore according to *Strabo*, who observes that *Homer* names it not in the

the exact order, placing it with *Ægina*. *Strab.* l. 8.

Mycenæ, between *Cleone* and *Argos*. *Str. Pausan.*

Corinth, near the *Isthmus*.

Cleone, between *Argos* and *Corinth*. *Paus. Corinth.*

Ornia, on the borders of *Sicyonia*. *Ibid.*

Arethyria, the same with *Phliasia*, at the source of the *Achaian Asopus*. *Strab.* l. 8.

Sicyon, (anciently the kingdom of *Adrastus*) betwixt *Corinth* and *Achaia*. *Paus. Corinth.*

Hypereſia, the same with *Ægira*, says *Pausan.* *Achaic.* seated betwixt *Pel-*

lene and *Helice*. *Strab.* l. 8. Opposite to *Parnassus*. *Polyb.* l. 4.

Gonoessa, *Homer* describes it situate very high, and *Seneca Troas*. *Cares nunquam Gonoessa vento.*

Pellene, bordering on *Sicyon* and *Pheneus*, 60 stadia from the sea. *Paus. Arcad.* Celebrated anciently for its wool. *Strab.* l. 8. *Jul. Poll.*

<i>Ægium</i> , <i>Helice</i> ,	}	Next <i>Sicyon</i> lies
		<i>Pellene</i> , &c. then
		<i>Helice</i> , and next
		to <i>Helice</i> <i>Ægium</i> .
		<i>Strab.</i> l. 8.
		<i>Helice</i> lies on the
		sea-side, 40 sta-
		dia from <i>Ægium</i> .
		<i>Paus. Ach.</i>

The West part of PELOPONNESUS, divided into *Laconia*, *Messenia*, *Arcadia*, and *Elis*.

LACONIA, under *Menelaus*, containing,

Sparta, the capital city, on the river *Eurotas*.

Phares, on the bay of *Messenia*, *Strab.* l. 8.

Messa, *Strabo* thinks this a contraction of *Messena*, and *Statius* in his imitation of this catalogue, *lib.* 4. calls it so.

Bryſia, under mount *Taygetus*. *Paus. Lacon.*

Augia, the same with *Ægia* in the opinion of *Pausanias* (*Laconicis*) 30 stadia from *Gythium*.

Amycle, 20 stadia from *Sparta* toward the sea. *Ptol.* l. 4. under the mountain

mountain *Taygetus*. *Strabo*, l. 8.

Helos, on the sea-side.
Hom. Upon the river
Eurotas. *Strab.* *Ibid.*

Laas.

Oetylos, near the promontory of *Tænarus*.
Paus. *Lac.*

MESSENIA, under Nestor, containing,

Pylos, the city of *Nestor* on the sea-shore.

Arene, seated near the river *Minyeius*. *Hom.* II. 11. *Strab.* l. 8.

Thryon, on the river *Alpheus*, the same which *Homer* elsewhere calls *Thryoëssa*. *Strab.* *Ibid.*

Æpy, the ancient Geographers differ about the situation of this town, but agree to place it near the sea. *Vide Strab.* l. 8.—
Summis ingestum montibus
Æpy. *Stat.* l. 4.

Cyparissie, on the borders of *Messenia*, and upon the bay called from it *Cyparissæus*. *Paus.* *Messen.*

Amphigenia, — *Fertilis Amphigenia*. *Stat.* *Th.* 4. near the former. So also, *Pteleon*, which was built by a colony from *Pteleon* in *Thessaly*. *Strab.* l. 8.

Helos, near the river *Alpheus*. *Ibid.*

Dorion, a field or mountain near the sea.

ARCADIA, under Agapenor, containing,

The mountain *Cyllene*, the highest of *Peloponnesus*, on the borders of *Achaia* and *Arcadia*, near *Pheneus*. *Paus.* *Arcad.* Under this stood the tomb of *Æpytus*. That monument (the same author tells us) was remaining in his time; it was only a heap of earth inclosed with a wall of rough stone.

Pheneus, confining on *Pellene* and *Stymphelus*. *Ib.*
Orchomenus, confining

on *Pheneus* and *Mantineia*. *Ibid.*

Ripe,
Stratie,
Enispe,

[These three *Strabo* tells us, are not to be found, nor their situation assigned. l. 8. *prope fin.* *Enispe* stood high, as appears from *Homer* and *Statius*, l. 4. *Ventotisque donat Enispe.*

Tegea, between *Argos* and *Sparta*. *Polib.* l. 4.
Mantineia,

Mantineia, bordering on *Phlyasia* or *Arethyria*.
upon *Tegea*, *Argia*, and *Strab. l. 8.*

Orchomenus. *Paus. Arcad.* *Parrhasia*, adjoining to
Laconia. Th. l. 5.—Parr-

Stymphelus, confining *basæque nives. Ov. Fast. 2.*

ELIS, under four Leaders, *Amphimachus*,
&c. containing,

The city *Elis*, 120 stadia from the sea. *Paus. Eliacis 2.* side, 70 stadia from *Elis. Strab. l. 8.*

Buprasium near *Elis. Strab. l. 8.* The *Olenian Rocks*, which stood near the city *Olenos*, at the mouth of the river *Pierus. Paus. Achaic.*

The places bounded by the fields of *Hyrmine*, in the territories of *Elis*, between mount *Cyllene* and the sea.

Myfinus, on the sea-*Strab. l. 8.*

The ISLES over against the Continent of
Elis, Achaia, or Acarnania.

Echinades and *Dulichium*, under *Meges*. about. It was rather one of the lesser islands toward the mouth of the *Achelous*.

The *Cephalenians* under *Ulysses*, being those from *Samos*, (the same with *Cephalenia*) from *Zacynthus*, *Grocylia*, *Ægylipe*, *Neritus*, and *Ithaca*. This last is generally supposed to be the largest of these islands on the east side of *Cephalenia*, and next to it; but that, is according to *Wheeler*, 20 Italian miles in circumference, whereas *Strabo* gives *Ithaca* but 80 stadia

Homer adds to these places under the dominion of *Ulysses*, *Epirus* and the opposite continent, by which (as *M. Dacier* observes) cannot be meant *Epirus* properly so called, which was never subject to *Ulysses*, but only the sea-coast of *Acarnania*, opposite to the islands.

The

*The Continent of ACARNANIA and
ÆTOLIA, under Thoas.*

Pleuron, seated between *Chalcis* and *Calydon*, by the sea-shore upon the river *Evenus*, west of *Chalcis*. *Strab. l. 10.*

Olenos, lying above *Calydon* with the *Evenus* on the east of it. *Ibid.*

Plene, the same with *Proschion*, not far from *Pleuron*, but more in the land. *Strab. l. 10.*

Chalcis, a sea-town. *Hom.* Situate on the east side of the *Evenus*. *Strab.*

Ibid. There was another *Chalcis* at the head of the *Evenus*, called by *Strabo* *Hypo-Chalcis*.

Calydon, on the *Evenus* also.

*The Isle of CRETE, under Idomeneus,
containing,*

Gnosſus, seated in the plain between *Lycſtus* and *Gortyna*, 120 ſtadia from *Lycſtus*. *Strab. l. 10.*

Gortyna, 90 ſtadia from the *African* ſea. *Ibid.*

Lycſtus, 80 ſtadia from the ſame ſea. *Ibid.*

Miletus.

Phæſtus, 62 ſtadia from

Gortyna, 20 from the ſea, under *Gortyna*. *Strabo. Ibid.* It lay on the river *Jardan*, as appears by *Homer's* deſcription of it in the third book of the *Odyssey*.

Lycaſtus.

Rhytium, under *Gortyna*. *Strab.*

*The iſle of RHODES, under Tlepolemus,
containing,*

Lindus, on the right hand to thoſe who ſail from the city of *Rhodes*, ſouthward, *Strab. l. 4.*

Jalyſſus, between *Camirus* and *Rhodes*. *Ibid.*
Camirus.

The

The Islands, Syma (under Nireus,) Nisyrus, Carpathus, Casus, Cos, Calydnæ, under Antiphus and Phidippus.

The Continent of THESSALY toward the Aegean sea, under Achilles.

Argos Pelasgicum, (the same which was since called *Phthiotis*.) *Strab. l. 9.* says that some thought this the name of a town, others that *Homer* meant by it this part of *Thessaly* in general, (which last seems most probable.) *Steph. Byzant.* observes there was a city *Argos* in *Thessaly*, as well as in *Peloponnesus*; the former was called *Pelasgic* in contradistinction to the *Achai-an*: for though the *Pelasgi* possessed several parts of *Epirus*, *Crete*, *Peloponnesus*, &c. yet they retained their principal seat in *Thessaly*. *Steph. Byz. in v. Panel.*

Alas, Alope, { Both on the shore of *Thessaly* towards *Locris*. *Strab. l. 9.* *Alas* lies in the passage of mount *Othrys*. *Ibid.*

Trechine, under the mountain *Oeta*. *Eustath. in Il. 2.*

{ Some supposed these two to be names of the same place, as *Strabo* says; though it is plain *Homer* distinguishes them. Whether they were cities or regions, *Strabo* is not determined. *lib. 9.*

The Hellenes. This denomination, afterwards common to all the *Greeks*, is here to be understood only of those who inhabited *Phthiotis*. It was not long after *Homer's* time that the people of other cities of *Greece* desiring assistance from these, began to have the same name from their communication with them, as *Thucydides* remarks in the beginning of his first book.

The following under Protefilaus.

Phylace, on the coast of *Phthiotis* toward the *Mælian* bay. *Strab.* l. 9.

Pyrrhasus, beyond the mountain *Othrys*, had the grove of *Ceres* within two stadia of it. *Ibid.*

Itena, 60 stadia from *Alos*, it lay higher in the land than *Pyrrhasus*, above mount *Othrys*. *Ib.*

Antron, on the sea-side, *Hom.* In the passage to *Eubæa*. *Ibid.*

Ptelon, the situation of this town in *Strabo* seems to be between *Antron* and

Pyrrhasus: But *Pliny* describes it with great exactness to lie on the shore towards *Bæotia*, on the confines of *Phthiotis*, upon the river *Sperchius*: according to which particulars, it must have been seated as I have placed it. *Livy* also seats it on the *Sperchius*.

All those towns which were under *Protefilaus* (says *Strabo*, lib. 9.) being the five last mentioned, lay on the eastern side of the mountain *Othrys*.

These under Eumelus.

Phææ, in the farthest part of *Magnesia*, confining on mount *Pelion*. *Strab.* l. 9. Near the lake of *Bæbe*. *Ptol.* and plentifully watered with

the fountains of *Hyperia*. *Strab.*

Glaphyræ.

Iolcos, a sea-town on the *Pegasæan* bay. *Livy*, l. 4. and *Strab.*

Under Philoctetes.

Methone, a city of *Macedonia*, 40 stadia from *Pydna* in *Pieria*. *Strab.*

In *Phthiotis* near *Pharsalus*, according to the same author. *Ibid.*

Thaumacia,
Mælibea,

Olyzon. It seems that this place lay near *Bæbe*, *Iolcos*, and *Ormenium*, from *Strab.* l. 9. where he says *Demetrius* caused the inhabitants of these towns to remove to *Demetrias*, on the same coast.

The Upper THESSALY.

The following under Podalirius and Machaon.

Trice, or *Tricce*, not far from the mountain *Pindus*, on the left hand of the *Peneus*, as it runs from *Pindus*. *Strab.* l. 9.

Ithome, near *Tricca*. *Ib.* *Oechalia*, the situation not certain, somewhat near the forementioned towns. *Strab.* *Ib.*

Under Eurypylus.

Ormenium, under *Pelion*, on the *Pegasæan* bay, near *Babe*. *Ibid.*

Asterium, hard by *Pheræ* and *Titanus*. *Ib.*

Under Polypoetes.

Argissa, lying upon the river *Peneus*. *Strab.* l. 9.

Gyrtone, a city of *Perthæbia*, at the foot of *Olympus*. *Ibid.*

Orthe, near *Peneus* and *Tempe*. *Ibid.*

Elope, { Both lying under *Olympus*,
Oloosson, { near the river *Titaresius*. *Ib.*

Under Guneus and Protheus.

Cyphus, seated in the mountainous country, towards *Olympus*. *Ibid.*

Dodona, among the mountains towards *Olympus*. *Ibid.*

Titaresius, a river rising in the mountain *Titarus* near *Olympus*, and running

into *Peneus*. *Ib.* 'Tis also called *Eurotas*.

The river *Peneus* rises from mount *Pindus*, and flows thro' *Tempe* into the sea. *Strab.* l. 7. and 9.

Pelion, near *Ossa* in *Magnesia*. *Herodot.* l. 7.

A Table

A Table of TROY, and the Auxiliar COUNTRIES.

THE kingdom of *Priam* divided into eight dynasties.

1. *Troas*, under *Hector*, whose capital was *Ilion*.

2. *Dardania*, under *Æneas*, the capital *Dardanus*.

3. *Zelea*, at the foot of *Ida*, by the *Æsepus*, under *Pandarus*.

4. *Adrestia*, *Apæsus*, *Pityea*, mount *Teree*, under *Adrastus* and *Amphius*.

5. *Sestos*, *Abydos*, *Arisbe*, on the river *Selle*, *Per-*

cote, and *Præstius*, under *Asius*.

These places lay between *Troy* and the *Propontis*.

The other three dynasties were under *Mynes*, *Eetion*, and *Alteus*; the capital of the first was *Lyrnessus*, of the second *Thebe* of *Cilicia*, of the third *Pedæsus* in *Lelegia*. *Homer* does not mention these in the catalogue, having been before destroyed and depopulated by the *Greeks*.

The Auxiliar Nations.

The *Pelasgi*, under *Hippothous* and *Pyleus*, whose capital was *Larissa*, near the place where *Cuma* was afterwards built. *Strab.* l. 13.

The *Thracians*, by the side of the *Hellepont* opposite to *Troy*, under *Acamus* and *Pyræus*, and those of *Ciconia*, under *Euphemus*.

The *Peonians* from *Macedonia* and the river *Axius*, under *Pyræchmes*.

The *Paphlagonians* under *Pylemeneus*. The *Halizonians*, under *Odius* and *Epistrophus*. The *Myrians*, under *Cromis* and *Eunomus*. The *Phrygians* of *Ascania*, under *Phorcys* and *Ascanius*.

The *Mæonians*, under *Mestles* and *Antiphus*, who inhabited under the mountain *Tmolus*.

The *Carians*, under *Nausses* and *Amphimachus*, from *Miletus*, the farthestmost city of *Caria* toward the South. *Herodot.* l. 1.

Mycale, a mountain and promontory opposite to *Samos*. *Ibid.*

Phthiron, the same mountain as *Latmos*, according to *Hecataeus*.

The *Lycians*, under *Sarpedon* and *Glaucus*, from the banks of the river *Xanthus*, which runs into the sea betwixt *Rhodes* and *Cyprus*. *Hom.* mentions it to distinguish this *Lycia* from that which lies on the *Propontis*.

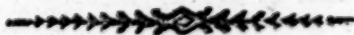


T H E

T H I R D B O O K

O F T H E

I L I A D.



M 3

The A R G U M E N T.

The Duel of Menelaus and Paris.

THE Armies being ready to engage, a single combat is agreed upon between Menelaus and Paris (by the intervention of Hector) for the determination of the war. Iris is sent to call Helena to behold the fight. She leads her to the walls of Troy, where Priam sate with his counsellors observing the Grecian leaders on the plain below, to whom Helen gives an account of the chief of them. The Kings on either part take the solemn oath for the conditions of the combat. The duel ensues, wherein Paris being overcome, is snatched away in a cloud by Venus, and transported to his apartment. She then calls Helen from the walls, and brings the lovers together. Agamemnon, on the part of the Grecians, demands the restoration of Helen, and the performance of the articles.

The three and twentieth day still continues throughout this book. The scene is sometimes in the fields before Troy, and sometimes in Troy itself.

T H E

T H E
* T H I R D B O O K
O F T H E
I L I A D.

THUS by their leader's care each martial band
Moves into ranks, and stretches o'er the land.

M 4.

With

* Of all the books of the *Iliad*, there is scarce any more pleasing than the third. It may be divided into five parts, each of which has a beauty different from the other. The first contains what passed before the two armies, and the proposal of the combat between *Paris* and *Menelaus*: The attention and suspense of these mighty hosts, which were just upon the point of joining battle, and the lofty manner of offering and accepting this important and unexpected challenge, have something in them wonderfully pompous, and of an amusing solemnity. The second part, which describes the behaviour of *Helena* in this juncture, her conference with the old King and his counsellors, with the review of the heroes from the battlements, is an episode entirely of another sort, which excels in the natural and pathetic. The third consists of the ceremonies of the oath on both sides, and the preliminaries to the combat; with the beautiful retreat of *Priam*, who in the tenderness of a parent withdraws from the sight of the duel: These particulars detain the reader in expectation, and heighten his impatience for the fight itself. The fourth is the description of the duel, an exact piece of painting,

With shouts the *Trojans* rushing from afar,
Proclaim their motions, and provoke the war:

So

painting, where we see every attitude, motion, and action of the combatants particularly and distinctly, and which concludes with a surprising propriety, in the rescue of *Paris* by *Venus*. The machine of that Goddess, which makes the fifth part, and whose end is to reconcile *Paris* and *Helena*, is admirable in every circumstance; the remonstrance she holds with the Goddess, the reluctance with which she obeys her, the reproaches she casts upon *Paris*, and the flattery and courtship with which she so soon wins her over to him. *Helena* (the main cause of this war) was not to be made an odious character; she is drawn by this great master with the finest strokes, as a frail, but not as an abandoned, creature. She has perpetual struggles of virtue on the one side, and softnesses which overcome them, on the other. Our Author has been remarkably careful to tell us this; whenever he but slightly names her in the foregoing part of this work, she is represented at the same time as repentant; and it is thus we see her at large at her first appearance in the present book; which is one of the shortest of the whole *Iliad*, but in recompence has beauties almost in every line of them so obvious that to acknowledge them we need only read them.

V. 3. *With shouts the Trojans.*] The book begins with a fine opposition of the noise of the *Trojan* army to the silence of the *Grecians*. It was but natural to imagine this, since the former was composed of many different nations, of various languages and strangers to each other; the latter were more united in their neighbourhood, and under leaders of the same country. But as this observation seems particularly insisted upon by our Author (for he uses it again in the fourth book, V. 486.) so he had a farther reason for it. *Plutarch*, in his treatise of reading the Poets, remarks upon this distinction, as a particular credit to the military discipline of the *Greeks*, and several ancient authors tell us, it was the manner of the *Barbarians* to encounter with shouts and outcries; as it continues to this day the custom of the Eastern nations. Perhaps these clamours were only to encourage their men, instead of martial instruments. I think Sir *Walter Raleigh* says, there never was a people but made use of some sort of musick in battle: *Homer* never mentions any in the *Greek* or *Trojan* armies, and it is scarce to be imagined he would omit a circumstance so poetical without some particular

So when inclement winters vex the plain 5
 With piercing frosts, or thick-descending rain,
 To warmer seas the cranes embody'd fly,
 With noise, and order, thro' the mid-way sky;
 To pigmy-nations wounds and death they bring,
 And all the war descends upon the wing. 10
 But silent, breathing rage, resolv'd and skill'd
 By mutual aids to fix a doubtful field,
 Swift march the *Greeks*: the rapid dust around
 Dark'ning arises from the labour'd ground.
 Thus from his flaggy wings when *Notus* sheds 15
 A night of vapours round the mountain-heads,
 Swift gliding mists the dusky fields invade,
 To thieves more grateful than the midnight shade;
 While scarce the swain their feeding flocks survey,
 Lost and confus'd amidst the thicken'd day: 20
 So wrapt in gath'ring dust, the *Grecian* train
 A moving cloud, swept on, and hid the plain.

M 5

Now

lar reason. The verb *Σαλπίζω*, which the modern *Greeks* have since appropriated to the sound of a trumpet, is used indifferently in our author for other sounds, as for thunder in the 21st *Iliad*, V. 388. Ἀμφὶ δὲ σάλπιγξεν μέγας ἔρανος.—

He once names the trumpet *Σαλπίγξ* in a simile, upon which *Eustathius* and *Didymus* observe, that the use of it was known in the Poet's time, but not in that of the *Trojan* war. And hence we may infer that *Homer* was particularly careful not to confound the manners of the times he wrote of, with those of the times he lived in.

V. 7. *The cranes embody'd fly.*] If wit has been truly described to be a similitude in ideas, and is more excellent as that similitude is more surprizing; there cannot be a truer kind of wit than what is shewn in apt comparisons, especially when composed of such subjects as having the least relation to each other in general, have yet some particular that agrees exactly. Of this nature is the simile of the *cranes* to the

Now front to front the hostile armies stand,
 Eager of fight, and only wait command :
 When, to the van, before the sons of fame 25
 Whom *Troy* sent forth, the beauteous *Paris* came:
 In form a God! the panther's speckled hide
 Flow'd o'er his armour with an easy pride,
 His bended bow across his shoulders flung,
 His sword beside him negligently hung. 30
 Two pointed spears he shook with gallant grace,
 And dar'd the bravest of the *Grecian* race.

As

the *Trojan* army, where the fancy of *Homer* flew to the remotest part of the world for an image which no reader could have expected. But it is no less exact than surprizing. The likeness consists in two points, the *noise* and the *order*; the latter is so observable, as to have given some of the ancients occasion to imagine, the embatteling of an army was first learned from the close manner of flight of these birds. But this part of the simile, not being directly expressed by the author, has been overlooked by some of the commentators. It may be remarked, that *Homer* has generally a wonderful closeness in all the particulars of his comparisons, notwithstanding he takes a liberty in his expression of them. He seems so secure of the main likeness, that he makes no scruple to play with the circumstances; sometimes by transposing the order of them, sometimes by super-adding them, and sometimes (as in this place) by neglecting them in such a manner, as to leave the reader to supply them himself. For the present comparison, it has been taken by *Virgil* in the tenth book, and applied to the clamours of soldiers in the same manner :

—*Quales sub nubibus atris*

Strymoniaë dant signa grues, atque æthera traxant
Cum sonitu, fugiantque Notos clamore secundo.

V. 26. *The beauteous Paris came: In form a God.*] This is meant by the epithet *Θεοειδής*, as has been said in the notes on the first book, V. 169. The picture here given of *Paris's* air and dress, is exactly correspondent to his character; you see

As thus with glorious air and proud disdain,
 He boldly stalk'd, the foremost on the plain,
 Him *Menelaus*, lov'd of *Mars*, espies, 35
 With heart elated, and with joyful eyes:
 So joys a lion, if the branching deer,
 Or mountain goat, his bulky prize, appear;

In

see him endeavouring to mix the fine gentleman with the warrior; and this idea of him *Homer* takes care to keep up, by describing him not without the same regard, when he is arming to encounter *Menelaus* afterwards in a close fight, as he shews here where he is but preluding and flourishing in the gaiety of his heart. And when he tells us, in that place, that he was in danger of being strangled by the strap of his helmet, he takes notice that it was *πολύκερος*, embroidered.

V. 37. *So joys a lion, if the branching deer, Or mountain goat.*] The old scholiasts, refining on this simile, will have it, that *Paris* is compared to a goat on account of his incontinence, and to a stag for his cowardice: To this last they make an addition which is very ludicrous, that he is also likened to a deer for his *skill in musick*, and cite *Aristotle* to prove that animal delights in harmony, which opinion is alluded to by Mr. *Waller* in these lines:

Here love takes stand, and while she charms the ear
 Empties his quiver on the list'ning deer.

But upon the whole, it is whimsical to imagine this comparison consists in any thing more, than the joy which *Menelaus* conceived at the sight of his rival, in the hopes of destroying him. It is equally an injustice to *Paris*, to abuse him for understanding musick, and to represent his retreat as purely the effect of fear, which proceeded from his sense of guilt with respect to the particular person of *Menelaus*. He appeared at the head of an army to challenge the boldest of the enemy: Nor is his character elsewhere in the *Iliad* by any means that of a coward. *Hector* at the end of the sixth book confesses, that no man could justly reproach him as such. Nor is he represented so by *Ovid* (who copied *Homer* very closely) in the end of his epistle to *Helen*. The moral of *Homer* is much finer: A brave mind, however blinded with passion, is sensible of remorse as soon as the injured object

In vain the youths oppose, the mastives bay,
 The lordly savage rends the panting prey. 40
 Thus fond of vengeance, with a furious bound,
 In clanging arms he leaps upon the ground
 From his high chariot: Him, approaching near,
 The beauteous champion views with marks of fear,
 Smit with a conscious sense, retires behind, 45
 And shuns the fate he well deserv'd to find.
 As when some shepherd from the rustling trees
 Shot forth to view, a scaly serpent sees;

Trembling

object presents itself; and *Paris* never behaves himself ill in war, but when his spirits are depressed by the consciousness of an injustice. This also will account for the seeming incongruity of *Homer* in this passage, who (as they would have us think) paints him a shameful coward, at the same time that he is perpetually calling him *the divine Paris*, and *Paris, like a God*. What he says immediately afterwards, in answer to *Hector's* reproof, will make this yet more clear.

V. 47. *As when some shepherd.*] This comparison of the serpent is finely imitated by *Virgil* in the 2d *Æneid*.

*Improv'um aspris veluti qui sentibus anguem
 Pressit humi nitens, trepidusque repente refugit
 Attollentem iras, & cœrula colla tumentem:
 Haud secus Androgeus visu tremefactus abibat.*

But it may be said to the praise of *Virgil*, that he has applied it upon an occasion where it has an additional beauty. *Paris*, upon the sight of *Menelaus's* approach, is compared to a traveller who sees a snake shoot on a sudden towards him. But the surprize and danger of *Androgeus* is more lively, being just in the reach of his enemies before he perceived it; and the circumstance of the serpent's rousing his crest, which brightens with anger, finely images the shining of their arms in the night time, as they were just lifted up to destroy him. *Scaliger* criticizes on the needless repetition in the words *παλινόρος* and *ἀνεχάρησεν*, which is avoided in the translation. But it must be observed in general, that little exactnesses are what we should not look for in *Homer*; the genius of his age was too incorrect, and his own too fiery, to regard them.

Trembling and pale, he starts with wild affright,
 And all confus'd, precipitates his flight. 50
 So from the King the shining warrior flies,
 And plung'd amid the thickest *Trojans* lies.

As God-like *Hector* sees the prince retreat,
 He thus upbraids him with a gen'rous heat.

Unhappy

V. 53. *As God-like Hector.*] This is the first place of the poem where *Hector* makes a figure, and here it seems proper to give an idea of his character, since if he is not the chief hero of the *Iliad*, he is at least the most amiable. There are several reasons which render *Hector* a favourite character with every reader, some of which shall here be offered. The chief moral of *Homer* was to expose the ill effects of discord; the *Greeks* were to be shewn disunited, and to render that disunion the more probable, he has designedly given them *mixt* characters. The *Trojans*, on the other hand, were to be represented making all advantages of the others disagreement, which they could not do without a strict union among themselves. *Hector*, therefore, who commanded them, must be endued with all such qualifications as tended to the preservation of it; as *Achilles* with such as promoted the contrary. The one stands in contrast to the other, an accomplished character of valour unruffled by rage and anger, and uniting his people by his prudence and example. *Hector* has also a foil to set him off in his own family; we are perpetually opposing in our own minds the incontinence of *Paris*, who exposes his country, to the temperance of *Hector* who protects it. And indeed it is this love of his country, which appears his principal passion, and the motive of all his actions. He has no other blemish than that he fights in an unjust cause, which *Homer* has yet been careful to tell us he would not do, if his opinion were followed. But since he cannot prevail, the affection he bears to his parents and kindred, and his desire of defending them, incites him to do his utmost for their safety. We may add, that *Homer* having so many *Greeks* to celebrate, makes them shine in their turns, and singly in their several books, one succeeding in the absence of another: Whereas *Hector* appears in every battle the life and soul of his party, and the constant bulwark against every enemy: He stands against *Agamemnon's* magnanimity, *Diomed's* bravery, *Ajax's* strength, and *Achilles's* fury. There is besides an accidental cause for
 our

Unhappy *Paris*! but to women brave! 55
 So fairly form'd, and only to deceive!
 Oh hadst thou dy'd when first thou saw'st the light,
 Or dy'd at least before thy nuptial rite!
 A better fate, than vainly thus to boast,
 And fly the scandal of thy *Trojan* host. 60
 Gods! how the scornful *Greeks* exult to see
 Their fears of danger undeceiv'd in thee!

Thy

our liking him, from reading the writers of the *Augustan* age (especially *Virgil*) whose favourite he grew more particularly from the time when the *Cæsars* fancied to derive their pedigree from *Troy*.

V. 55. *Unhappy Paris, &c.*] It may be observed in honour of *Homer's* judgment, that the words which *Hector* is made to speak here, very strongly mark his character. They contain a warm reproach of cowardice, and shew him to be touched with so high a sense of glory, as to think life insupportable without it. His calling to mind the gallant figure which *Paris* had made in his amours to *Helen*, and opposing to it the image of his flight from her husband, is a sarcasm of the utmost bitterness and vivacity; after he has named that action of the rape, the cause of so many mischiefs, his insisting upon it in so many broken periods, those disjointed shortnesses of speech.

(Πατρί τε σὼ μέγα πῆμα, πολλή τε, πανί τε δῆμον,
 Δυσμενέσιν μὲν χάριμα, κατηφείην δὲ σοι αὐτῷ.)

That hasty manner of expression without the connexion of particles, is (as *Eustathius* remarks) extremely natural to a man in anger, who thinks he can never vent himself too soon. That contempt of outward shew, of the gracefulness of person, and of the accomplishments of a courtly life, is what corresponds very well with the warlike temper of *Hector*; and these verses have therefore a beauty here which they want in *Horace*, however admirably he has translated them, in the ode of *Nereus's* prophecy.

*Necquicquam Veneris præsidio ferox,
 Pectus casariam; grataque fœminis,
 Imbelli citharâ carmina divides, &c.*

Thy figure promis'd with a martial air,
 But ill thy soul supplies a form so fair.
 In former days, in all thy gallant pride, 65
 When thy tall ships triumphant stem'd the tide,
 When *Greece* beheld thy painted canvas flow,
 And crouds stood wond'ring at the passing show;
 Say, was it thus, with such a baffled mein,
 You met th' approaches of the *Spartan* Queen, 70
 Thus from her realm convey'd the beauteous prize,
 And * both her warlike lords outshin'd in *Helen's* eyes?
 This deed, thy foes delight, thy own disgrace,
 Thy father's grief, and ruin of thy race;
 This deed recalls thee to the proffer'd fight; 75
 Or hast thou injur'd whom thou dar'st not right?
 Soon to thy cost the field would make thee know
 Thou keep'st the consort of a braver foe.
 Thy graceful form instilling soft desire,
 Thy curling tresses, and thy silver lyre, 80
 Beauty

* *Theseus* and *Menelaus*.

V. 72. *And both her warlike lords.*] The original is Νῦν ἀνδρῶν αἰχμητῶν. *The spouse of martial men.* I wonder why *Madam Dacier* chose to turn it *Alliée à tant de braves guerriers*, since it so naturally refers to *Theseus* and *Menelaus*, the former husbands of *Helena*.

V. 80. *Thy curling tresses, and thy silver lyre.*] It is ingeniously remarked by *Dacier*, that *Homer*, who celebrates the *Greeks* for their long hair [*καρχηρόμωκτος Ἀχαιῆς*] and *Achilles* for his skill on the harp, makes *Heclor* in this place object them both to *Paris*. The *Greeks* nourished their hair to appear more dreadful to the enemy, and *Paris* to please the eyes of women. *Achilles* sung to his harp the acts of *Heroes*, and *Paris* the amours of lovers. The same reason which makes *Heclor* here displeased at them, made *Alexander* afterwards refuse to see this lyre of *Paris*, when offered to be shewn to him, as *Plutarch* relates the story in his oration of the fortune of *Alexander*.

Beauty and youth, in vain to these you trust,
 When youth and beauty shall be laid in dust:
Troy yet may wake, and one avenging blow
 Crush the dire author of his country's woe.

His silence here, with blushes, *Paris* breaks; 85
 'Tis just, my brother, what your anger speaks:

But

V. 83. *One avenging blow.*] It is in the *Greek*, *You had been clad in a coat of stone.* *Giphanius* would have it to mean stoned to death on the account of his adultery: But this does not appear to have been the punishment of that crime among the *Phrygians*. It seems rather to signify, destroyed by the fury of the people, for the war he had brought upon them; or perhaps may imply no more than being laid in his grave under a monument of stones; but the former being the strongest sense, is here followed.

V. 86. *'Tis just, my brother.*] This speech is a farther opening of the true character of *Paris*. He is a master of civility, no less well-bred to his own sex than courtly to the other. The reproof of *Hector* was of a severe nature, yet he receives it as from a brother and a friend, with candour and modesty. This answer is remarkable for its fine address; he gives the hero a decent and agreeable reproof for having too rashly depreciated the gifts of nature. He allows the quality of courage its utmost due, but desires the same justice to those softer accomplishments, which he lets him know are no less the favour of heaven. Then he removes from himself the charge of want of valour, by proposing the single combat with the very man he had just declined to engage; which having shewn him void of any malevolence to his rival on the one hand, he now proves himself free from the imputation of cowardice on the other. *Homer* draws him (as we have seen) soft of speech, the natural quality of an amorous temper; vainly gay, in war as well as love; with a spirit that can be surprized and recollected, that can receive impressions of shame or apprehension on the one side, or of generosity and courage on the other; the usual disposition of easy and courteous minds, which are most subject to the rule of fancy and passion. Upon the whole, this is no worse than the picture of a *gentle Knight*, and one might fancy the heroes of the modern romance were form'd upon the model of *Paris*.

But who like thee can boast a soul sedate,
 So firmly proof to all the shocks of fate?
 Thy force, like steel, a temper'd hardness shews,
 Still edg'd to wound, and still untir'd with blows, 90
 Like steel, uplifted by some strenuous swain,
 With falling woods to strow the wasted plain.
 Thy gifts I praise; nor thou despise the charms
 With which a lover golden *Venus* arms;
 Soft moving speech, and pleasing outward shew, 95
 No wish can gain 'em, but the Gods bestow.
 Yet, wouldst thou have the proffer'd combat stand,
 The *Greeks* and *Trojans* seat on either hand;
 Then let a mid-way space our hosts divide,
 And, on that stage of war, the cause be try'd: 100
 By *Paris* there the *Spartan* King be fought,
 For beauteous *Helen* and the wealth she brought;
 And who his rival can in arms subdue,
 His be the fair, and his the treasure too.
 Thus with a lasting league your toils may cease, 105
 And *Troy* possess her fertile fields in peace;
 Thus may the *Greeks* review their native shore,
 Much fam'd for gen'rous steeds, for beauty more.

He

V. 108. *Much fam'd for gen'rous steeds, for beauty more.*
 The original is, Ἄργος ἐς ἑπὶ βόλον, καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ δὲ καλλι-
 γύναια. Perhaps this line is translated too close to the
 letter, and the epithets might have been omitted. But there
 are some traits and particularities of this nature, which me-
 thinks preserve to the reader the air of *Homer*. At least the
 latter of these circumstances, that *Greece* was eminent for
 beautiful women, seems not improper to be mentioned by him
 who had raised a war on the account of a *Grecian* beauty.

He said. The challenge *Hector* heard with joy,
Then with his spear restrain'd the youth of *Troy*. 110
Held by the midst, athwart; and near the foe
Advanc'd with steps majestically flow.

While round his dauntless head the *Grecians* pour
Their stones and arrows in a mingled show'r.

Then thus the Monarch great *Atrides* cry'd; 115
Forbear, ye warriors! lay the darts aside:
A parley *Hector* asks, a message bears;
We know him by the various plume he wears.
Aw'd by his high command the *Greeks* attend,
The tumult silence, and the fight suspend. 120

While from the centre *Hector* rolls his eyes
On either host, and thus to both applies.
Hear, all ye *Trojans*, all ye *Grecian* bands!
What *Paris*, author of the war, demands.

Your

V. 109. *The challenge Hector heard with joy.*] *Hector* stays not to reply to his brother, but runs away with the challenge immediately. He looks upon all the *Trojans* as disgraced by the late flight of *Paris*, and thinks not a moment is to be lost to regain the honour of his country. The activity he shews in all this affair wonderfully agrees with the spirit of a soldier.

V. 123. *Hear, all ye Trojan, all ye Grecian bands.*] It has been asked how the different nations could understand one another in these conferences, since we have no mention in *Homer* of any interpreter between them? He who was so very particular in the most minute points, can hardly be thought to have been negligent in this. Some reason may be offered that they both spoke the same language; for the *Trojans* (as may be seen in *Dion. Halic. lib. 1.*) were of *Grecian* extraction originally. *Dardanus* the first of their Kings was born in *Arcadia*; and even their names were generally *Greek*, as *Hector*, *Anchises*, *Andromache*, *Astyanax*, &c. Of the last of these in particular, *Homer* gives us a derivation which is purely *Greek*, in *Iliad* 6. V. 403. But however it be, this is no more (as *Dacier* somewhere observes) than the just privilege

Your shining swords within the sheath restrain, 125
 And pitch your lances in the yielding plain.
 Here, in the midst, in either army's fight,
 He dares the *Spartan* King to single fight;
 And wills, that *Helen* and the ravish'd spoil,
 That caus'd the contest, shall reward the toil. 130
 Let these the brave triumphant victor grace,
 And diff'ring nations part in leagues of peace.

He spoke: in still suspense on either side
 Each army stood: The *Spartan* Chief reply'd.

Me too, ye warriors, hear, whose fatal right 135
 A world engages in the toils of fight.

To

vilage of Poetry. *Aeneas* and *Turnus* understand each other in *Virgil*, and the language of the Poet is supposed to be universally intelligible, not only between different countries, but between earth and heaven itself.

V. 135. *Me too, ye warriors, hear, &c.*] We may observe what care *Homer* takes to give every one his proper character, and how this speech of *Menelaus* is adapted to the *Laconick*; which the better to comprehend, we may remember there are in *Homer* three speakers of different characters, agreeable to the three different kinds of eloquence. These we may compare with each other in one instance, supposing them all to use the same heads, and in the same order.

The materials of the speech are, The manifesting his grief for the war, with the hopes that it is in his power to end it; an acceptance of the proposed challenge; an account of the ceremonies to be used in the league; and a proposal of a proper caution to secure it.

Now had *Nestor* these materials to work upon, he would probably have begun with a relation of all the troubles of the nine years siege, which he hoped he might now bring to an end; he would court their benevolence and good wishes for his prosperity, with all the figures of amplification; while he accepted the challenge, he would have given an example to prove that the single combat was a wise, gallant, and gentle way of ending the war, practised by their fathers; in the description of the rites he would be exceeding particular; and when he chose to demand the sanction of
Priam

To me the labour of the field resign ;
 Me *Paris* injur'd ; all the war be mine.
 Fall he that must, beneath his rival's arms,
 And live the rest secure of future harms.

140

Two

Priam rather than of his sons, he would place in opposition on one side the son's action, which began the war, and on the other the impressions of concern or repentance which it must by this time have made in the father's mind, whose wisdom he would undoubtedly extol as the effect of his age. All this he would have expatiated upon with connexions of the discourses in the most evident manner, and the most easy, gliding, undisobliging transitions. The effect would be, that the people would hear him with pleasure.

Had it been *Ulysses* who was to make the speech, he would have mentioned a few of their most affecting calamities in a pathetic air ; then have undertaken the fight with testifying such a chearful joy, as should have won the hearts of the soldiers to follow him to the field without being desired. He would have been exceeding cautious in wording the conditions ; and solemn, rather than particular, in speaking of the rites, which he would only insist on as an opportunity to exhort both sides to a fear of the Gods, and a strict regard of justice. He would have remonstrated the use of sending for *Priam* ; and (because no caution would be too much) have demanded his sons to be bound with him. For a conclusion, he would have used some noble sentiment agreeable to a hero, and (it may be) have enforced it with some spirited action. In all this you would have known that the discourse hung together, but its fire would not always suffer it to be seen in cooler transitions, which (when they are too nicely laid open) may conduct the reader, but never carry him away. The people would hear him with emotion.

These materials being given to *Menelaus*, he but just mentions their troubles, and the satisfaction in the prospect of ending them, shortens the proposal, says a sacrifice is necessary, requires *Priam*'s presence to confirm the conditions, refuses his sons with a resentment of that injury he suffered by them, and concludes with a reason for his choice from the praise of age, with a short gravity, and the air of an apophthegm. This he puts in order without any more transition than what a single conjunction affords. And the effect of the discourse is, that the people are instructed by it in what is to be done.

Two lambs, devoted by your country's rite,
To *Earth* a fable, to the *Sun* a white,
Prepare, ye *Trojans* ! while a third we bring
Select to *Jove*, th' inviolable King.

Let rev'rend *Priam* in the truce engage, 145
And add the sanction of confid'rate age ;
His sons are faithless, headlong in debate,
And youth itself an empty wav'ring state :
Cool age advances venerably wife,
Turns on all hands its deep-discerning eyes ; 150
Sees what besel, and what may yet besal,
Concludes from both, and best provides for all.

The nations hear, with rising hopes possess'd,
And peaceful prospects dawn in ev'ry breast.

Within

V. 141. *Two lambs devoted.*] The *Trojans* (says the old scholiast) were required to sacrifice two lambs : one male of a white colour, to the *Sun*, and one female, and black, to the *Earth* ; as the *Sun* is the father of light, and the *Earth* the mother and nurse of men. The *Greeks* were to offer a third to *Jupiter*, perhaps to *Jupiter Zenius*, because the *Trojans* had broken the laws of hospitality : On which account we find *Menelaus* afterwards invoking him in the combat with *Paris*. That these were the powers to which they sacrificed, appears by their being attested by name in the oath, V. 346, &c.

V. 153. *The nations hear, with rising hopes possess'd.*] It seemed no more than what the reader would reasonably expect, in the narration of this long war, that a period might have been put to it by the single danger of the parties chiefly concerned, *Paris* and *Menelaus*. *Homer* has therefore taken care toward the beginning of his Poem to obviate that objection ; and contrived such a method to render this combat of no effect, as should naturally make way for all the ensuing battles, without any future prospect of a determination but by the sword. It is farther worth observing, in what manner he has improved into Poetry the common history of this action, if (as one may imagine) it was the same with that we have in the second book of *Diclys Cretensis*. When *Paris* (says he) being wounded by the spear of *Menelaus* fell to the ground, just
as

Within the lines they drew their steeds around, 155
 And from their chariots issu'd on the ground :
 Next all unbuckling the rich mail they wore,
 Lay'd their bright arms along the sable shore.
 On either side the meeting hosts are seen,
 With launces fix'd, and close the space between. 160
 Two heralds now, dispatch'd to *Troy*, invite
 The *Phrygian* Monarch to the peaceful rite ;
Talthybius hastens to the fleet, to bring
 The lamb for *Jove*, th' inviolable King.

Mean time, to beauteous *Helen*, from the skies 165
 The various Goddesses of the rain-bow flies :

(Like

as his adversary was rushing upon him with his sword, he was shot by an arrow from Pandarus, which prevented his revenge in the moment he was going to take it. Immediately on the sight of this perfidious action, the Greeks rose in a tumult; the Trojans rising at the same time, came on, and rescued Paris from his enemy. Homer has with great art and invention mingled all this with the Marvellous, and raised it in the air of fable. The Goddesses of Love rescues her favourite; Jupiter debates whether or no the war shall end by the defeat of Paris; Juno is for the continuance of it; Minerva incites Pandarus to break the truce, who thereupon shoots at Menelaus. This heightens the grandeur of the action, without destroying the verisimilitude, diversifies the poem, and exhibits a fine moral; That whatever seems in the world the effect of common causes, is really owing to the decree and disposition of the Gods.

V. 165. *Mean time to beauteous Helen, &c.*] The following part, where we have the first sight of *Helena*, is what I cannot think inferior to any in the Poem. The reader has naturally an aversion to this pernicious beauty, and is apt enough to wonder at the *Greeks* for endeavouring to recover her at such an expence. But her amiable behaviour here, the secret wishes that rise in favour of her rightful Lord, her tenderness for her parents and relations, the relentings of her soul for the mischiefs her beauty had been the cause of, the confusion she appears in, the veiling her face, and dropping a tear; are particulars so beautifully natural, as to make every

(Like fair *Laodice* in form and face,
 The loveliest Nymph of *Priam's* royal race)
 Her in the palace, at her loom, she found ;
 The golden web her own sad story crown'd, 170
 The *Trojan* war she weav'd (herself the prize)
 And the dire triumphs of her fatal eyes.
 To whom the Goddess of the painted bow ;
 Approach and view the wond'rous scene below !
 Each hardy *Greek*, and valiant *Trojan* Knight, 175
 So dreadful late, and furious for the fight,
 Now rest their spears, or lean upon their shields ;
 Ceas'd is the war, and silent all the fields.

Paris alone and *Sparta's* King advance,
 In single fight to toss the beamy lance ; 180
 Each meet in arms, the fate of combat tries,
 Thy love the motive, and thy charms the prize.

This said, the many-colour'd maid inspires
 Her husband's love, and wakes her former fires ;
 Her country, parents, all that once were dear, 185
 Rush to her thought, and force a tender tear.

O'er

every reader, no less than *Menelaus* himself, inclined to forgive her at least, if not to love her. We are afterwards confirmed in this partiality by the sentiment of the old counsellors upon the sight of her, which one would think *Homer* put into their mouths with that very view : we excuse her no more than *Priam* does himself, and all those do who felt the calamities she occasioned : and this regard for her is heightened by all she says herself ; in which there is scarce a word, that is not big with repentance and good-nature.

V. 170.] *The golden web her own sad story crown'd.*] This is a very agreeable fiction, to represent *Helena* weaving in a large veil, or piece of tapestry, the story of the *Trojan* war. One would think that *Homer* inherited this veil, and that his *Iliad* is only an explication of that admirable piece of art. *Dacier*.

O'er her fair face a snowy veil she threw,
 And, softly sighing, from the loom withdrew.
 Her handmaids *Clymenè* and *Æthra* wait
 Her silent footsteps to the *Scæan* gate.

190

There fate the Seniors of the *Trojan* race,
 (Old *Priam's* Chiefs, and most in *Priam's* grace)
 The King the first; *Thymætès* at his side;
Lampus and *Clytiüs*, long in council try'd;
Panthus and *Hycetäon*, once the strong;
 And next, the wisest of the rev'rend throng,
Antenor grave, and sage *Ucalegon*,
 Lean'd on the walls, and bask'd before the sun.
 Chiefs, who no more in bloody fights engage,
 But wise thro' time, and narrative with age,
 In summer-days, like Grasshoppers, rejoice,
 A bloodless race, that send a feeble voice.

200

These,

V. 201. *Like Grasshoppers.*] This is one of the justest and most natural images in the world, tho' there have been critics of so little taste as to object to it as a mean one. The garrulity so common to old men, their delight in associating with each other, the feeble sound of their voices, the pleasure they take in a sun-shiny day, the effects of decay in their chilness, leanness, and scarcity of blood, are all circumstances exactly paralleled in this comparison. To make it yet more proper to the old men of *Troy*, *Eusebius* has observed that *Homer* found a hint for this simile in the *Trojan* story, where *Tithon* was feigned to have been transformed into a Grasshopper in his old age, perhaps on account of his being so exhausted by years as to have nothing left him but voice. *Spondanus* wonders that *Homer* should apply to grasshoppers *ὅσα λειροέσσαν*, a *sweet voice*, whereas that of these animals is harsh and untuneful; and he is content to come off with a very poor evasion of *Hemero fingere quidlibet fas fuit*. But *Hesychius* rightly observes that *λειροές* signifies *απαλός*, *tener* or *gracilis*, as well as *suaris*. The sense is certainly much better, and the simile more truly preserved by this interpretation, which is here followed in translating it *feeble*.

However

These, when the Spartan Queen approach'd the tow'r,
In secret own'd resistless Beauty's pow'r :

VOL. I.

N

They

However it may be alledged in defence of the common versions, and Madam Dacier's (who has turned it *Harmonieuse*.) that tho' *Virgil* gives the Epithet *rauca* to *Cicade*, yet the *Greek* Poets frequently describe the grasshopper as a musical creature, particularly *Anacreon* and *Theocritus*, *Idyl.* 1. where a shepherd praises another's singing by telling him,

Τέρψις ἐπὶ τῷ φέρειον ᾄδεις.

It is remarkable that Mr. *Hobbes* has omitted this beautiful simile.

V. 203. *These, when the Spartan Queen approach'd.* Madam Dacier is of opinion there was never a greater panegyrick upon beauty, than what *Homer* has found the art to give it in this place. An assembly of venerable old counsellors, who had suffered all the calamities of a tedious war, and were consulting upon the methods to put a conclusion to it, seeing the only cause of it approaching towards them, are struck with her charms, and cry out, *No wonder*, &c. Nevertheless they afterwards recollect themselves, and conclude to part with her for the publick safety. If *Homer* had carried these old mens admiration any farther, he had been guilty of outrageous nature and offending against probability. The old are capable of being touched with beauty by the eye; but age secures them from the tyranny of passion, and the effect is but transitory, for prudence soon regains its dominion over them. *Homer* always goes as far as he should, but constantly stops just where he ought. Dacier.

The same writer compares to this the speech of *Holofernes's* soldiers on the sight of *Judith*, *ch.* 10. v. 18. But though there be a resemblance in the words, the beauty is no way parallel; the grace of this consisting in the age and character of those who speak it. There is something very gallant upon the beauty of *Helen* in one of *Lucian's* dialogues. *Mercury* shews *Menippus* the skulls of several fine women; and when the philosopher is moralizing upon that of *Helen*: *Was it for this a thousand ships sailed from Greece, so many brave men died, and so many cities were destroyed? My friend* (says *Mercury*) 'tis true; but what you behold is only her skull; you would have been of their opinion, and have done the very same thing, had you seen her face.

They cry'd, No wonder such celestial charms 205
 For nine long years have set the world in arms;
 What winning graces! what majestic mein!
 She moves a Goddess, and she looks a Queen!
 Yet hence, oh heav'n! convey that fatal face,
 And from destruction save the *Trojan* race. 210

The good old *Priam* welcom'd her, and cry'd,
 Approach, my child, and grace thy father's side.
 See on the plain thy *Grecian* spouse appears,
 The friends and kindred of thy former years.
 No crime of thine our present suff'rings draws, 215
 Not thou, but heav'n's disposing will, the cause;
 The Gods these armies and this force employ,
 The hostile Gods conspire the fate of *Troy*.
 But lift thy eyes, and say, What *Greek* is he
 (Far as from hence these aged orbs can see) 220

Around

V. 211. *The good old Priam.*] The character of a benevolent old man is very well preserved in *Priam's* behaviour to *Helen*. Upon the confusion he observes her in, he encourages her by attributing the misfortunes of the war to the Gods alone, and not to her fault. This sentiment is also very agreeable to the natural piety of old age; those who have had the longest experience of human accidents and events, being most inclined to ascribe the disposal of all things to the will of heaven. It is this piety that renders *Priam* a favourite of *Jupiter*, (as we find in the beginning of the fourth book) which for some time delays the destruction of *Troy*; while his soft nature and indulgence for his children makes him continue a war which ruins him. These are the two principal points of *Priam's* character, tho' there are several lesser particularities, among which we may observe the curiosity and inquisitive humour of old age, which gives occasion to the following Episode.

V. 219. *And say, what Greek is he?*] This view of the *Grecian* leaders from the walls of *Troy*, is justly looked upon as an Episode of great beauty, as well as a masterpiece of conduct in *Homer*; who by this means acquaints the readers with

Around whose brow such martial graces shine,
 So tall, so awful, and almost divine?
 Tho' some of larger stature tread the green,
 None match his grandeur and exalted mien:
 He seems a Monarch, and his country's pride. 225
 Thus ceas'd the King, and thus the Fair reply'd.

Before thy presence, Father, I appear,
 With conscious shame, and reverential fear.

N 2

Ah!

with the figure and qualifications of each hero in a more lively and agreeable manner. Several great poets have been engaged by the beauty of this passage to an imitation of it. In the seventh book of *Statius*, *Phœbas* standing with *Antigone* on the tower of *Thebes*, shews her the forces as they were drawn up, and describes their commanders who were neighbouring princes of *Bœotia*. It is also imitated by *Tasso* in his third book, where *Erminia* from the walls of *Jerusalem* points out the chief warriors to the King; tho' the latter part is perhaps copied too closely and minutely; for he describes *Godfrey* to be of a port that bespeaks him a Prince, the next of somewhat a lower stature, a third renowned for his wisdom, and then another is distinguished by the largeness of his chest and breadth of his shoulders: Which are not only the very particulars, but in the very order of *Homer's*.

But however this manner of introduction has been admired, there have not been wanting some exceptions to a particular or two. *Scaliger* asks, how it happens that *Priam*, after nine years siege, should be yet unacquainted with the faces of the *Grecian* leaders? This was an old cavil, as appears by the *Scholia* that pass under the name of *Didymus*, where it is very well answered that *Homer* had just before taken care to tell us the heroes had put off their armour on this occasion of the truce, which had concealed their persons till now. Others have objected to *Priam's* not knowing *Ulysses*, who (as it appears afterwards) had been at *Troy* on an embassy. The answer is, that this might happen either from the dimness of *Priam's* sight, or defect of his memory, or from the change of *Ulysses's* features since that time.

V. 227. *Before thy presence.*] *Helen* is so overwhelmed with grief and shame, that she is unable to give a direct answer to *Priam* without first humbling herself before him, acknowledging her crime, and testifying her repentance. And she
 no

Ah ! had I dy'd, ere to these walls I fled,
 False to my country, and my nuptial bed, 230
 My brothers, friends, and daughter left behind,
 False to them all, to *Paris* only kind !
 For this I mourn, 'till grief or dire disease
 Shall waste the form whose crime it was to please !
 The King of Kings, *Atrides*, you survey, 235
 Great in the war, and great in arts of sway :
 My brother once, before my days of shame ;
 And oh ! that still he bore a brother's name !

With wonder *Priam* view'd the Godlike man,
 Extoll'd the happy Prince, and thus began. 240
 O blest *Atrides* ! born to prosp'rous fate,
 Successful Monarch of a mighty state !
 How vast thy empire ? Of yon' matchless train
 What numbers lost, what numbers still remain ?
 In *Phrygia* once were gallant armies known, 245
 In ancient time, when *Atreus* fill'd the throne,

When

no sooner answers by naming *Agamemnon*, but her sorrows renew at the name; *He was once my brother, but I am now a wretch unworthy to call him so.*

V. 236. *Great in the war, and great in arts of sway.*] This was the verse which *Alexander* the Great preferred to all others in *Homer*, and which he proposed as the pattern of his own actions, as including whatever can be desired in a Prince. *Plut. Orat. de fort. Alex. 1.*

V. 240. *Extoll'd the happy Prince.*] It was very natural for *Priam* on this occasion, to compare the declining condition of his kingdom with the flourishing state of *Agamemnon's*, and to oppose his own misery (who had lost most of his sons and his bravest warriors) to the felicity of the other, in being yet master of so gallant an army. After this the humour of old age breaks out, in the narration of what armies he had formerly seen, and bore a part in the command of; as well as what feats of valour he had then performed. Besides which, this praise of the *Greeks* from the mouth of an enemy, was no small encomium of *Homer's* countrymen.

When Godlike *Mygdon* led their troops of horse,
And I, to join them, rais'd the *Trojan* force :
Against the manlike *Amazons* we flood,
And *Sangar's* stream ran purple with their blood. 250
But far inferior those, in martial grace,
And strength of numbers, to this *Grecian* race.

This said, once more he view'd the warrior-train :
What's he, whose arms lie scatter'd on the plain ?
Broad is his breast, his shoulders larger spread, 255
Tho' great *Atrides* overtops his head.
Nor yet appear his care and conduct small ;
From rank to rank he moves, and orders all.
The stately *Ram* thus measures o'er the ground,
And, master of the flocks, surveys them round. 260

Then *Helen* thus. Whom your discerning eyes
Have singled out, is *Ithacus* the wife :
A barren island boasts his glorious birth ;
His fame for wisdom fills the spacious earth.

Antenor took the word, and thus began : 265
Myself, O King ! have seen that wond'rous man ;
When trusting *Jove* and hospitable laws,
'To *Troy* he came, to plead the *Grecian* cause ;
(Great *Menelaus* urg'd the same request)
My house was honour'd with each royal guest : 270

N 3

I knew

V. 258. *From rank to rank he moves.*] The vigilance and inspection of *Ulysses* were very proper marks to distinguish him, and agree with his character of a wise man, no less than the grandeur and majesty before described are conformable to *Agamemnon*, as the supreme ruler ; whereas we find *Ajax* afterwards taken notice of only for his bulk, as a heavy Hero without parts or authority. This decorum is observable.

I knew their persons, and admir'd their parts,
 Both brave in arms, and both approv'd in arts.
 Erect, the *Spartan* most engag'd our view,
Ulysses seated, greater rev'rence drew.
 When *Atreus*' son harangu'd the list'ning train, 275
 Just was his sense, and his expression plain,

His

V. 271. *I knew their persons, &c.*] In this view of the leaders of the army, it had been an oversight in *Homer* to have taken no notice of *Menelaus*, who was not only of the principal of them, but was immediately to engage the observation of the reader in the single combat. On the other hand, it had been a high indecorum to have made *Helena* speak of him. He has therefore put his praises into the mouth of *Antenor*; which was also a more artful way than to have presented him to the eye of *Priam* in the same manner with the rest: It appears from hence, what a regard he has had both to decency and variety, in the conduct of his poem.

This passage concerning the different eloquence of *Menelaus* and *Ulysses* is inexpressibly just and beautiful. The close *Laconick* conciseness of the one, is finely oppos'd to the copious, vehement, and penetrating oratory of the other; which is so exquisitely described in the simile of the *snow* falling fast, and sinking deep. For it is in this the beauty of the comparison consists, according to *Quintilian*, l. 12. c. 10. *In Ulyssæ facundiam & magnitudinem junxit, cui orationem nivibus hybernis copiam verborum atque impetu parem tribuit.* We may set in the same light with these the character of *Nestor*'s eloquence, which consisted in softness and persuasiveness, and is therefore (in contradistinction to this of *Ulysses*) compared to honey which drops gently and slowly: a manner of speech extremely natural to a benevolent old man, such as *Nestor* is represented. *Ausonius* has elegantly distinguished these three kinds of oratory in the following verses.

*Dulcem in paucis ut Plisthenidem,
 Et torrentem ceu Dulichii
 Nigida dicta:
 Et mellitæ nectare vocis
 Dulcia fatu verba canentem
 Nestora regem.*

His words succinct, yet full, without a fault;
He spoke no more than just the thing he ought.

N 4

But

V. 278. *He spoke no more than just the thing he ought.*] Chapman, in his notes to this place and on the second book, has described Menelaus as a character of ridicule and simplicity. He takes advantage from the word λιγέως here made use of, to interpret that of the *shrillness* of his voice, which was applied to the acuteness of his sense; he observes, that this sort of voice is a mark of a fool; that Menelaus coming to his brother's feast uninvited in the second book, has occasioned a proverb of folly; that the excuse Homer himself makes for it (because his brother might forget to invite him thro' much business) is purely ironical; that the epithet εἰρηφίλος, which is often applied to him, should not be translated *warlike*, but one who had an *affectation of loving war*: In short, that he was a weak Prince, played upon by others, short in speech, and of a bad pronunciation, valiant only by fits, and sometimes stumbling upon good matter in his speeches, as may happen to the most slender capacity. This is one of the mysteries which that translator boasts to have found in Homer. But as it is no way consistent with the art of the Poet, to draw the Person in whose behalf he engages the world, in such a manner as no regard should be conceived for him; we must endeavour to rescue him from this representation. First then, the present passage is taken by antiquity in general to be applied not to his pronunciation, but his eloquence. So *Ausonius* in the foregoing citation, and *Cicero de oratoribus*: *Menelaum ipsum dulcem illum quidem trahit Homerus, sed pauca loquentem.* And *Quintilian*, l. 12. c. 10. *Homerus brevem cum animi jucunditate, & propriam (id enim est non errare verbis) & carentem supervacuis, eloquentiam Menelas dedit, &c.* Secondly, though his coming uninvited may naturally be accounted for on the principle of *brotherly love*, which so visibly characterizes both him and Agamemnon throughout the poem. Thirdly, εἰρηφίλος may import a love of war, but not an ungrounded affectation. Upon the whole, his character is by no means contemptible, tho' not of the most shining nature. He is called indeed in the 17th Iliad, μαλθακὸς αἰκμητής, a *soft warrior*, or one whose strength is of the second rate; and so his brother thought him, when he preferred nine before him to fight with Hector in the 7th book. But on the other hand, his courage gives him a considerable figure in conquering Paris, defend-

ing

But when *Ulysses* rose, in thought profound,
 His modest eyes he fixed upon the ground, 280
 As one unskill'd or dumb, he seem'd to stand,
 Nor rais'd his head, nor stretch'd his scepter'd hand;
 But, when he speaks, what elocution flows!
 Soft as the fleeces of descending snows,
 The copious accents fall, with easy art; 285
 Melting they fall, and sink into the heart!
 Wond'ring we hear, and fix'd in deep surprize
 Our ears refute the censure of our eyes.

The

ing the body of *Patroclus*, rescuing *Ulysses*, wounding *Helenus*, killing *Euphorbus*, &c. He is full of resentment for his private injuries, which brings him to the war with a spirit of revenge in the second book, makes him blaspheme *Jupiter* in the third, when *Paris* escapes him, and curse the *Greeks* in the seventh, when they hesitate to accept *Hector's* challenge. But this also is qualified with a compassion for those who suffer in his cause, which he every where manifests upon proper occasions; and with an industry to gratify others, as when he obeys *Ajax* in the 17th book, and goes upon his errand to find *Antilochus*, with some other condescensions of the like nature. Thus his character is composed of qualities which give him no uneasy superiority over others while he wants their assistance. and mingled with such as make him amiable enough to obtain it.

V. 280. *His modest eyes, &c.*] This behaviour of *Ulysses* is copied by *Ovid*, *Met.* 13.

*Astitit, atque oculos paulum tellure moratos
 Sustulit.*—

What follows in the Greek translated word for word runs thus: *He seemed like a fool, you would have thought him in a rage, or a madman.* How oddly this would appear in our language, I appeal to those who have read *Ogilby*. The whole period means no more than to describe that behaviour which is commonly remarkable in a modest and sensible man, who speaks in publick: His diffidence and respect give him at his first rising a sort of confusion, which is not indecent, and which serves but the more to heighten the surprize and esteem of those who hear him.

The King then ask'd (as yet the camp he view'd)
 What chief is that, with giant strength endu'd, 290
 Whose brawny shoulders, and whose swelling chest,
 And lofty stature far exceed the rest?

Ajax the great (the beauteous *Queen* reply'd)
 Himself a host: the *Grecian* strength and pride.
 See! bold *Idomeneus* superior tow'rs, 295
 Amidst yon' circle of his *Cretan* pow'rs,
 Great as a God! I saw him once before,
 With *Menelaus* on the *Spartan* shore.

The rest I know, and could in order name;
 All valiant chiefs, and men of mighty fame. 300
 Yet two are wanted of the num'rous train,
 Whom long my eyes have fought, but fought in vain;
*Cass*ter and *Pollux*, first in martial force,
 One bold on foot, and one renown'd for horse.
 My brothers these; the same our native shore, 305
 One house contain'd us, as one mother bore.
 Perhaps the Chiefs, from warlike toils at ease,
 For distant *Troy* refus'd to sail the seas:
 Perhaps their sword some nobler quarrel draws,
 Aham'd to combat in their sister's cause. 310

So spoke the fair, nor knew her brothers doom,
 Wrapt in the cold embraces of the tomb;
 Adorn'd with honours in their native shore,
 Silent they slept, and heard of wars no more.

N 5

Mean:

V. 309. *Perhaps their swords.*] This is another stroke of *Helen's* concern: The sense of her crime is perpetually afflicting her, and awakes upon every occasion. The lines that follow, wherein *Homer* gives us to understand that *Cass*ter and *Pollux* were now dead, are finely introduced, and in the spirit of poetry; the muse is supposed to know every thing past and to come, and to see things distant as well as present.

Mean time the heralds, thro' the crouded town, 315
Bring the rich wine and destin'd victim down.

Ideus' arms the golden goblets preft,
Who thus the venerable King addrest.

Arise, O father of the *Trojan* state!

The nations call, thy joyful people wait,
To seal the truce, and end the dire debate. 320 }

Paris thy son, and *Sparta's* King advance,
In measur'd lifts to toss the weighty lance;

And who his rival shall in arms subdue,

His be the dame, and his the treasure too. 325

Thus with a lasting league our toils may cease,

And *Troy* possess her fertile fields in peace;

So shall the *Greeks* review their native shore,

Much fam'd for gen'rous steeds, for beauty more.

With grief he heard, and bade their chiefs prepare
To join his milk-white courfers to the car: 331

He mounts the seat, *Antenor* at his side;

The gentle steeds thro' *Scaea's* gates they guide:

Next from the car descending on the plain,

Amid the *Grecian* host and *Trojan* train 335

Slow they proceed: The sage *Ulysses* then

Arose, and with him rose the King of Men.

On either side a sacred herald stands,

The wine they mix, and on each monarch's hands

Pour the full urn; then draws the *Grecian* Lord 340

His cutlace sheath'd beside his pond'rous sword;

From

V. 315. *Mean time the heralds, &c.*] It may not be unpleasing to the reader to compare the description of the ceremonies of the league in the following part, with that of *Virgil* in the twelfth book. The preparations, the procession of the Kings, and their congress, are much more solemn and poetical in the latter; the oath and adjurations are equally noble in both.

From the sign'd victims crops the curling hair,
 The heralds part it, and the Princes share;
 Then loudly thus before th' attentive bands
 He calls the Gods, and spreads his lifted hands. 345

O first and greatest pow'r! whom all obey,
 Who high on *Ida's* holy mountain sway,
 Eternal *Jove!* and you bright orb that roll
 From east to west, and view from pole to pole!
 Thou Mother *Earth!* and all ye living *Floods!* 350
 Infernal *Furies*, and *Tartarean* Gods,
 Who rule the dead, and horrid woes prepare
 For perjur'd Kings, and all who falsely swear!
 Hear, and be witnesses. If, by *Paris* slain,
 Great *Menelaus* press the fatal plain; 355
 The Dame and treasures let the *Trojan* keep,
 And *Greece* returning plow the watry deep.
 If by my brother's lance the *Trojan* bleed;
 Be his the wealth and beauteous Dame decreed:
 'Th' appointed fine let *Ilium* justly pay, 360
 And age to age record the signal day.

This

V. 342. *The curling hair.*] We have here the whole ceremonial of the solemn oath, as it was observed anciently by the nations our Author describes. I must take this occasion of remarking that we might spare ourselves the trouble of reading most books of *Grecian antiquities*, only by being well versed in *Homer*. They are generally bare transcriptions of him, but with this unnecessary addition, that after having quoted any thing in verse, they say the same over again in prose. The *Antiquitates Homericae* of *Festus* may serve as an instance of this. What my Lord *Bacon* observes of authors in general, is particularly applicable to these of *Antiquities*, that they write for ostentation not for instruction, and that their works are perpetual repetitions.

V. 361. *And age to age record the signal day.*] Ἡμεῖς καὶ ἰστούμενοι μετ' ἀνθρώποις πύληται. This seems the natural

This if the *Phrygians* shall refuse to yield,
Arms must revenge, and *Mars* decide the field.

With that the Chief the tender victims slew,
And in the dust their bleeding bodies threw : 365
The vital spirit issu'd at the wound,

And left the members quiv'ring on the ground.
From the same urn they drink the mingled wine,
And add libations to the pow'rs divine.

While thus their pray'rs united mount the sky ; 370
Hear mighty *Jove* ! and hear ye Gods on high !
And may their blood, who first the league confound,
Shed like this wine, distain the thirsty ground ;

May

tural sense of the line, and not as Madam *Dacier* renders it, *The tribute shall be paid to the posterity of the Greeks for ever*. I think she is single in that explication, the majority of the interpreters taking it to signify that the victory of the *Greeks* and this pecuniary acknowledgment *should be recorded to all posterity*. If it means any more than this, at least it cannot come up to the sense Madam *Dacier* gives it ; for a nation put under perpetual tribute is rather enslaved, than received to friendship and alliance, which are the terms of *Agamemnon's* speech. It seems rather to be a fine, demanded as a recompence for the expences of the war, which being made over the *Greeks*, should remain to their posterity for ever, that is to say, which they should never be molested for, or which should never be re-demanded in any age as a case of injury. The phrase is the same we use at this day, when any purchase or grant is at once made over to a man and his heirs for ever. With this will agree the *Scholiast's* note, which tells us the mulct was reported to have been half the goods then in the besieged city.

V. 364. *The chief the tender victims slew.*] One of the grand objections which the ignorance of some moderns has raised against *Homer*, is what they call a defect in the manners of his heroes. They are shocked to find his Kings employed in such offices as slaughtering of beasts, &c. - But they forget that sacrificing was the most solemn act of religion, and that Kings of old in most nations were also chief priests. This, among other objections of the same kind, the reader may see answered in the Preface.

May all their comforts serve promiscuous lust,
And all their race be scatter'd as the dust! 375

Thus either host their imprecations join'd,
Which *Jove* refus'd, and mingled with the wind.

The rites now finish'd, rev'rend *Priam* rose,
And thus express'd a heart o'ercharg'd with woes.
Ye *Greeks* and *Trojans*, let the chiefs engage, 380.
But spare the weakness of my feeble age.

In yonder walls that object let me shun,
Nor view the danger of so dear a son.
Whose arms shall conquer, and what Prince shall fall,
Heav'n only knows, for heav'n disposes all. 385

This said, the hoary King no longer stay'd,
But on his car the slaughter'd victims laid;
Then seiz'd the reins his gentle steeds to guide,
And drove to *Troy*, *Antenor* at his side.

Bold *Hector* and *Ulysses* now dispose 390
The lists of combat, and the ground inclose;
Next to decide by sacred lots prepare,
Who first shall launch his pointed spear in air.
The people pray with elevated hands,
And words like these are heard thro' all the bands. 395
Immortal *Jove*! high heav'n's superior lord,
On lofty *Ida*'s holy mount ador'd!

Whoe'er invoiv'd us in this dire debate,
Oh give that author of the war to fate
And shades eternal! let division cease, 400
And joyful nations join in leagues of peace.

With eyes averted *Hector* hastes to turn
The lots of fight, and shakes the brazen urn.
Then, *Paris*, thine leap'd forth; by fatal chance
Ordain'd the first to whirl the mighty lance. 405
Both

Both armies fate, the combat to survey,
Beside each chief his azure armour lay,
And round the lists the gen'rous couriers neigh.
The beauteous warrior now arrays for fight,
In gilded arms magnificently bright : 410

The purple cuishes clasp his thighs around,
With flow'rs adorn'd, with silver buckles bound :
Lycaon's cors'let his fair body drest,
Brac'd in, and fitted to his foster breast ;
A radiant baldric, o'er his shoulder ty'd, 415
Sustain'd the sword that glitter'd at his side,
His youthful face a polish'd helm o'erspread ;
The waving horse-hair nodded on his head :
His figur'd shield, a shining orb, he takes,
And in his hand a pointed jav'lin shakes. 420
With equal speed, and fir'd by equal charms,
The *Spartan* hero sheaths his limbs in arms.

Now round the lists th' admiring armies stand,
With jav'lins fix'd, the *Greek* and *Trojan* band.
Amidst the dreadful vale, the Chiefs advance, 425
All pale with rage, and shake the threat'ning lance.
The *Trojan* first his shining jav'lin threw ;
Full on *Atrides* ringing shield it flew,
Nor pierc'd the brazen orb, but with a bound
Leap'd from the buckler blunted on the ground. 430
Atrides then his massy lance prepares,
In act to throw, but first prefers his pray'rs.

Give me, great *Jove* ! to punish lawless lust,
And lay the *Trojan* gasping in the dust :

Destroy

V. 433. Give me great *Jove*.] *Homer* puts a prayer in the mouth of *Menelaus*, but none in *Paris's* ; *Menelaus* is the person

Destroy th' aggressor, aid my righteous cause, 435
 Avenge the breach of hospitable laws!
 Let this example future times reclaim,
 And guard from wrong fair friendship's holy name.
 He said, and pois'd in air the jav'lin sent,
 Thro' *Paris*' shield the forceful weapon went, 440
 His cors'let pierces, and his garment rends,
 And glancing downward, near his flank descends.
 The wary *Trojan* bending from the blow,
 Eludes the death, and disappoints the foe:
 But fierce *Atrides* wav'd his sword, and struck 445
 Full on his casque; the crested helmet shook;
 The brittle steel, unfaithful to his hand,
 Broke short: the fragments glitter'd on the sand.
 The raging warrior to the spacious skies
 Rais'd his upbraiding voice, and angry eyes: 450
 Then is it vain in *Jove* himself to trust?
 And is it thus the Gods assist the just?
 When crimes provoke us, heav'n success denies;
 The dart falls harmless, and the faulchion flies.

Furious

son injured and innocent, and may therefore apply to God
 for justice; but *Paris*, who is the criminal remains silent.
Spondanus.

V. 447. *The brittle steel, unfaithful to his hand, Broke short*—
 This verse is cut, to express the thing it describes, the snap-
 ping short of the sword. 'Tis the observation of *Eustathius*
 on this line of the original, that we do not only see the ac-
 tion, but imagine we hear the sound of the breaking sword
 in that of the words. Τριχθαί τε κ' τετραχθὲ διατρυφὲν
 ἐκπτε χεῖρος. And that *Homer* designed it, may appear
 from his having twice put in the Θῆτα (which was a letter
 unnecessary) to cause this harshness in the verse. As this
 beauty could not be preserved in our language, it is endea-
 voured in the translation to supply it with something pa-
 rallel.

Furious he said, and tow'rd the *Grecian* crew 455
 (Seiz'd by the crest) th' unhappy warrior drew :
 Struggling he follow'd, while th' embroider'd thong,
 That ty'd his helmet, dragg'd the chief along.
 Then had his ruin crown'd *Atrides'* joy,
 But *Venus* trembled for the Prince of *Troy* : 460
 Unseen she came, and burst the golden band ;
 And left an empty helmet in his hand.
 The casque, enrag'd amidst the *Greeks* he threw ;
 The *Greeks* with smiles the polish'd trophy view.
 Then, as once more he lif's the deadly dart, 465
 In thirst of vengeance, at his rival's heart,
 The Queen of Love her favour'd champion shrouds.
 (For Gods can all things) in a veil of clouds.
 Rais'd from the field, the panting youth she led,
 And gently laid him on the bridal bed, 470
 With pleasing sweets his fainting sense renews,
 And all the dome perfumes with heav'nly dews.
 Mean time the brightest of the female kind,
 The matchless *Helen*, o'er the walls reclin'd :
 To her, beset with *Trojan* beauties, came 475
 In borrow'd form, the *laughter-loving dame.
 (She seem'd an ancient Maid, well-skill'd to cull
 The snowy fleece, and wind the twisted wool).
 The Goddess softly shook her silken vest
 That shed perfumes, and whisp'ring thus address. 480
 Hasten,

* *Venus*.

V. 479. *The Goddess softly shook, &c.* *Venus* having conveyed *Paris* in safety to his chamber, goes to *Helen*, who had been spectator of his defeat, in order to draw her to his love. The better to bring this about, she first takes upon her the most.

Haste, happy nymph! for thee thy *Paris* calls,
 Safe from the fight, in yonder lofty walls,
 Fair as a God! with odours round him spread
 He lies, and waits thee on the well-known bed:
 Not like a warrior parted from the foe, 485
 But some gay dancer in the publick show.

She spoke, and *Helen's* secret soul was mov'd;
 She scorn'd the champion, but the man she lov'd.
 Fair *Venus'* neck, her eyes that sparkled fire,
 And breast, reveal'd the Queen of soft desire. 490
 Struck with her presence, strait the lively red
 Forsook her cheek; and, trembling, thus she said.
 Then is it still thy pleasure to deceive?
 And woman's frailty always to believe?
 Say, to new nations must I cross the main, 495
 Or carry wars to some soft *Asian* plain?

For

most proper form in the world, that of a favourite servant-maid, and awakens her passion by representing to her the beautiful figure of his person. Next assuming her own shape, she frightens her into a compliance, notwithstanding all the struggles of *shame*, *fear*, and *anger*, which break out in her speech to the Goddess. This machine is allegorical, and means no more than the power of *love* triumphing over the considerations of *honour*, *ease*, and *safety*. It has an excellent effect as to the poem, in preserving still in some degree our good opinion of *Helena*, whom we look upon with compassion, as constrained by a superior power, and whose speech tends to justify her in the eye of the reader.

V. 487. *She spoke, and Helen's secret soul was mov'd.*] Nothing is more fine than this; the first thought of *Paris's* beauty overcomes (unawares to herself) the contempt she had that moment conceived of him upon his overthrow. This motion is but natural, and before she perceives the Deity. When the affections of a woman have been thoroughly gained, though they may be alienated for a while, they soon return upon her. *Homer knew* (says *Madam Dacier*) *what a woman is capable of, who had once lov'd.*

For whom must *Helen* break her second vow?

What other *Paris* is thy darling now?

Lest to *Atrides*, (victor in the strife)

An odious conquest and a captive wife,

500

Hence let me sail: And if thy *Paris* bear

My absence ill, let *Venus* ease his care.

A hand-maid goddess at his side to wait,

Renounce the glories of thy heav'nly state,

Be fix'd for ever to the *Trojan* shore,

505

His spouse, or slave: and mount the skies no more.

For me, to lawless love no longer led,

I scorn the coward, and detest his bed;

Else should I merit everlasting shame,

And keen reproach from ev'ry *Phrygian* dame: 510

Ill suits it now the joys of love to know,

Too deep my anguish, and too wild my woe.

Then thus incens'd, the *Paphian* Queen replies:

Obeys the pow'r from whom thy glories rise:

Shou'd *Venus* leave thee, ev'ry charm must fly, 515

Fade from thy cheek, and languish in thy eye.

Cease

V. 507. *For me, to lawless love, no longer led, I scorn the coward.*] We have here another branch of the female character, which is to be ruled in their attaches by success. *Helen* finding the victory belonging to *Menelaus*, accuses herself secretly of having forsaken him for the other, and immediately entertains a high opinion of the man she had once despised. One may add, that the fair sex are generally admirers of courage, and naturally friends to great soldiers. *Paris* was no stranger to this disposition in them, and had formerly endeavoured to give his mistress that opinion of him; as appears from her reproach to him afterwards.

V. 515. *Shou'd Venus leave thee, ev'ry charm must fly.*] This was the most dreadful of all threats, loss of beauty and reputation. *Helen*, who had been proof to the personal appearance

Cease to provoke me, lest I make thee more
 The world's aversion, than their love before;
 Now the bright prize for which mankind engage,
 Then, the sad victim of the publick rage. 520

At this the fairest of her sex obey'd,
 And veil'd her blushes in a silken shade;
 Unseen, and silent, from the train she moves,
 Led by the Goddesses of the Smiles and Loves.

Arriv'd, and entered at the Palace-gate, 525
 The maids officious round their mistress wait;
 Then all dispersing, various tasks attend;
 The Queen and Goddesses to the Prince ascend.
 Full in her *Paris'* sight, the Queen of Love
 Had plac'd the beauteous progeny of *Jove*; 530
 Where, as he view'd her charms, she turn'd away
 Her glowing eyes, and thus began to say.

Is this the Chief, who lost to sense of shame
 Late fled the field, and yet survives his fame?
 O hadst thou dy'd beneath the righteous sword 535
 Of that brave man whom once I call'd my Lord!

The

pearance of the Goddesses, and durst even approach her with bitterness just before, yields to this, and obeys all the dictates of love.

V. 531. *She turn'd away her glowing eyes.*] This interview of the two lovers, placed opposite to each other, and overlooked by *Venus*, *Paris* gazing on *Helena*, she turning away her eyes, shining at once with anger and love, are particulars finely drawn, and painted up to all the life of nature. *Eustathius* imagines she looked aside in consciousness of her own weakness, as apprehending that the beauty of *Paris* might cause her to relent. Her bursting out into passion and reproaches while she is in this state of mind, is no ill picture of frailty: *Venus* (as *Madam Dacier* observes) does not leave her, and fondness will immediately succeed to these reproaches.

The boaster *Paris* oft desir'd the day
 With *Sparta's* King to meet in single fray:
 Go now, once more thy rival's rage excite,
 Provoke *Atrides*, and renew the fight: 540
 Yet *Helen* bids thee stay, lest thou unskill'd
 Should'st fail an easy conquest on the field.

The Prince replies; Ah cease, divinely fair,
 Nor add reproaches to the wounds I bear;
 This day the foe prevail'd by *Pallas'* pow'r; 545
 We yet may vanquish in a happier hour:
 There want not Gods to favour us above;
 But let the business of our life be love:
 These softer moments let delights employ,
 And kind embraces snatch the hasty joy. 550
 Not thus I lov'd thee, when from *Sparta's* shore
 My forc'd, my willing heav'nly prize I bore,

When

V. 543. *Ah cease divinely fair.*] This answer of *Paris* is the only one he could possibly make with any success in his circumstance. There was no other method to reconcile her to him, but that which is generally most powerful with the sex, and which *Homer* (who was learned every way) here makes use of.

V. 551. *Not thus I lov'd thee.*] However *Homer* may be admired for his conduct in this passage, I find a general outcry against *Paris* on this occasion. *Plutarch* has led the way in his treatise of reading Poets, by remarking it a most heinous act of incontinence in him to go to bed to his Lady in the day-time. Among the commentators the most violent is the moral expositor *Spindanus*, who will not so much as allow him to say a civil thing to *Helen*. *Mollis, effeminatus, & spurcus ille adulter, nihil de libidine sua imminutum dicit, sed nunc magis ea corripit quam unquam a'de, ne quidem cum primum ea ipsi desit* (Latini ita recte exprimunt το μὲν σεβας in re venerā) in insula *Cranae*. Cum aliqui homines primi concubitus soleant esse ardenter. I could not deny the reader the diversion of this remark, nor *Spindanus* the glory of his zeal, who was but two
 and

When first entranc'd in *Cranaë's* isle I lay,
Mix'd with thy foul, and all dissolv'd away!

Thus

and twenty when it was written. Madam *Dacier* is also very severe upon *Paris*, but for a reason more natural to a Lady: She is of opinion that the passion of the lover would scarce have been so excessive as he here describes it, but for fear of losing his mistress immediately, as foreseeing the *Greeks* would demand her. One may answer to this lively remark, that *Paris* having nothing to say for himself, was obliged to testify an uncommon ardour for his Lady, at a time when compliments were to pass instead of reasons. I hope to be excused, if (in revenge for her remark upon our sex) I observe upon the behaviour of *Helen*, throughout this book, which gives a pretty natural picture of the manners of theirs. We see her first in tears, repentant, covered with confusion at the sight of *Priam*, and secretly inclined to her former spouse. The disgrace of *Paris* increases her dislike of him; she rails, she reproaches, she wishes his death; and after all is prevailed upon by one kind compliment, and yields to his embraces. Methinks when this Lady's observation and mine are laid together, the best that can be made of them is to conclude, that since both the sexes have their frailties, it would be well for each to forgive the other.

It is worth looking backward, to observe the *allegory* here carried on with respect to *Helen*, who lives thro' this whole book in a whirl of passions, and is agitated by turns with sentiments of honour and love. The Goddesses made use of, to cast the appearance of fable over the story, are *Iris* and *Venus*. When *Helen* is called to the tower to behold her former friends, *Iris* the messenger of *Juno* (the Goddess of Honour) is sent for her; and when invited to the bed-chamber of *Paris*, *Venus* is to beckon her out of the company. The forms they take to carry on these different affairs, are properly chosen: the one assuming the person of the daughter of *Antenor*, who pressed most for her being restored to *Menelaus*: the other the shape of an old maid, who was privy to the intrigues of *Paris* from the beginning. And in the consequences, as the one inspires the love of her former empire, friends and country; so the other instills the dread of being cast off by all if she forsook her second choice, and causes the return of her tenderness to *Paris*. But if she has a struggle for Honour, she is in a bondage to Love; which gives

Thus having spoke, th' enamour'd *Phrygian* boy 555
Rush'd to the bed, impatient for the joy.

Him *Helen* follow'd slow with bashful charms,
And clasp'd the blooming *Hero* in her arms.

While these to love's delicious rapture yield,
The stern *Atrides* rages round the field: 560

So some fell lion whom the woods obey,
Roars thro' the desert, and demands his prey,
Paris he seeks, impatient to destroy,

But seeks in vain among the troops of *Troy*;
Ev'n those had yielded to a foe so brave 565

The recreant warrior, hateful as the grave.

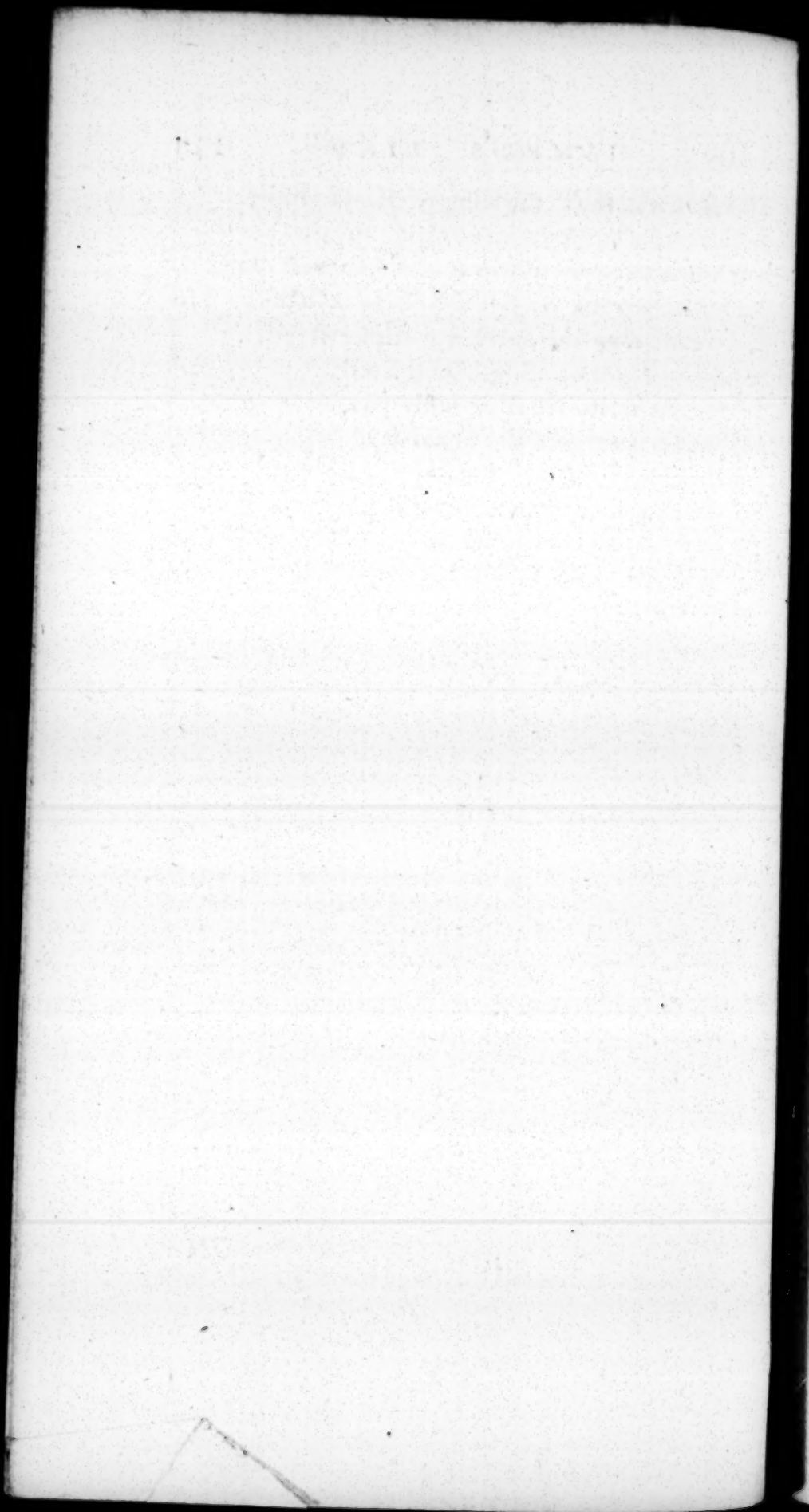
Then

gives the story its turn that way, and makes *Venus* oftner appear than *Iris*. There is in one place a lover to be protected, in another a love-quarrel to be made up, in both which the Goddess is kindly officious. She conveys *Paris* to *Troy* when he had escaped the enemy; which may signify his love for his mistress, that hurried him away to justify himself before her. She softens and terrifies *Helen*, in order to make up the breach between them; and even when that affair is finished, we do not find the Poet dismisses her from the chamber, whatever privacies the lovers had a mind to: In which circumstance he seems to draw aside the veil of his Allegory, and let the reader at last into the meaning of it; That the Goddess of Love has been all the while nothing more than the Passion of it.

V. 553. *When first entranc'd in Craneæ's Isle*] It is in the original Νήσω δ' ἐν Κραναιῇ ἐμίγην Φιλότῃ, καὶ εὐνῇ. The true sense of which is expressed in the translation. I cannot but take notice of a small piece of Prudery in *Madam Dacier*, who is extremely careful of *Helen's* character. She turns this passage as if *Paris* had only her consent to be her husband in this island. *Pausanias* explains this line in another manner, and tells us it was here that *Paris* had first the enjoyment of her, and that in gratitude for his happiness he built a Temple of *Venus Migenitis*, the mingler or coupler, and that the neighbouring coast where it was erected was called *Migenian* from μίγναι, *a miscendo*. *Paus. Laconicis*.

Then speaking thus, the King of Kings arose;
Ye *Trojans*, *Dardans*, all our gen'rous foes!
Hear and attest! from heav'n with conquest crown'd,
Our brother's arms the just success have found; 570
Be therefore now the *Spartan* wealth restor'd,
Let *Argive Helen* own her lawful Lord;
Th' appointed fine let *Ilion* justly pay,
And age to age record the signal day.

He ceas'd; his army's loud applauses rise, 575
And the long shout runs echoing through the skies.





THE
FOURTH BOOK
OF THE
ILIAD.



VOL. I.

O

The A R G U M E N T.

The Breach of the Truce, and the first Battle.

THE Gods deliberate in council concerning the Trojan war: They agree upon the continuation of it, and Jupiter sends down Minerva to break the truce. She persuades Pandarus to aim an arrow at Menelaus, who is wounded, but cured by Machaon. In the mean time some of the Trojan troops attack the Greeks. Agamemnon is distinguished in all the parts of a good General; he reviews the troops, and exhorts the Leaders, some by praises, and others by reproofs. Nestor is particularly celebrated for his military discipline. The battle joins, and great numbers are slain on both sides.

The same day continues thro' this, as thro' the last book, (as it does also thro' the two following, and almost to the end of the seventh book.) The scene is wholly in the field before Troy.

THE

T H E
* F O U R T H B O O K
O F T H E
I L I A D.

AND now *Olympus*' shining gates unfold;
The Gods, with *Jove*, assume their Thrones of Gold:
O 2 Immortal

* It was from the beginning of this book that *Virgil* has taken that of his tenth *Æneid*, as the whole tenour of the story in this and the last book is followed in his twelfth. The truce and the solemn oath, the breach of it by a dart thrown by *Tolumnius*, *Juturna*'s inciting the *Latines* to renew the war, the wound of *Æneas*, his speedy cure, and the battle ensuing, all these are manifestly copied from hence. The solemnity, surprize, and variety of these circumstances seemed to him of importance enough, to build the whole catastrophe of his work upon them; tho' in *Homer* they are but openings to the general action, and such as in their warmth are still exceeded by all that follow them. They are chosen, we grant, by *Virgil* with great judgment, and conclude his poem with a becoming majesty: Yet the finishing his scheme with that which is but the coolest part of *Homer*'s action, tends in some degree to shew the disparity of the poetical fire in these two Authors.

Immortal *Hebè*, fresh with bloom divine,
 The golden goblet crowns with purple wine :
 While the full bowls flow round, the pow'rs employ
 Their careful eyes on long-contended *Troy*.

When *Jove*, dispos'd to tempt *Saturnia*'s spleen,
 Thus wak'd the fury of his partial Queen.

Two pow'rs divine the son of *Atreus* aid,
 Imperial *Juno*, and the martial maid ; 10
 But high in heav'n they sit and gaze from far,
 The tame spectators of his deeds of war.

Not thus fair *Venus* helps her favour'd knight,
 The Queen of Pleasures shares the toils of fight,
 Each danger wards, and constant in her care 15
 Saves in the moment of the last despair.

Her act has rescu'd *Paris*' forfeit life,
 Tho' great *Atrides* gain'd the glorious strife.

Then

V. 3. *Immortal Hebe.*] The Goddess of youth is introduced as an attendant upon the banquets of the Gods, to shew that the divine beings enjoy an eternal youth, and that their life is a felicity without end. *Dacier*.

V. 9. *Two pow'rs divine.*] *Jupiter*'s reproaching these two Goddesses with neglecting to assist *Menelaus*, proceeds (as *M. Dacier* remarks) from the affection he bore to *Troy*: Since if *Menelaus* by their help had gained a complete victory, the siege had been raised, and the city delivered. On the contrary, *Juno* and *Minerva* might suffer *Paris* to escape, as the method to continue the war to the total destruction of *Troy*. And accordingly a few lines after we find them plotting together, and contriving a new scene of miseries to the *Trojans*.

V. 18. *Tho' great Atrides gain'd the glorious strife.*] *Jupiter* here makes it a question, Whether the foregoing combat should determine the controversy, or the peace be broken? His putting it thus, that *Paris* is not killed, but *Menelaus* has the victory, gives a hint for a dispute whether the conditions
 of

Then say, ye Pow'rs! what signal issue waits
 To crown this deed and finish all the Fates? 20
 Shall heav'n by peace the bleeding kingdoms spare,
 Or rouse the Furies, and awake the war?
 Yet would the Gods for human good provide,
Atrides soon might gain his beauteous bride,
 Still *Priam's* walls in peaceful honours grow, 25
 And thro' his gates the crouding nations flow.

Thus while he spoke, the queen of heav'n enrag'd,
 And queen of war, in close consult engag'd:
 Apart they sit, their deep designs employ,
 And meditate the future woes of *Troy*. 30

O 3:

Tho'

of the treaty were valid or annulled; that is to say, whether the controversy was to be determined by the *victory* or by the *death* of one of the combatants. Accordingly it has been disputed whether the articles were really binding to the *Trojans*, or not? *Plutarch* has treated the question in his *Symposiacks*, l. 9. qu. 13. The substance is this. In the first proposal of the challenge *Paris* mentions only the victory, *And who his rival shall in arms subdue*: Nor does *Hector* who carries it say any more. However *Menelaus* understands it of the death by what he replies: *Fall he that must, beneath his rival's arm, And live the rest*—*Iris* to *Helen* speaks only of the former; and *Idæus* to *Priam* repeats the same words. But in the solemn oath *Agamemnon* specifies the latter, *If by Paris slain—and If by my brother's arm the Trojan bleed*. *Priam* also understands it of both, saying at his leaving the field, *What Prince shall fall heav'n only knows*—(I do not cite the *Greek*, because the English has preserved the same nicety.) *Paris* himself confesses he has lost the victory, in his speech to *Helen*, which he would hardly have done had the whole depended on that alone: And lastly, *Menelaus* (after the conquest is clearly his by the flight of *Paris*) is still searching round the field to kill him, as if all were of no effect without the death of his adversary. It appears from hence, that the *Trojans* had no ill pretence to break the treaty, so that *Homer* ought to have been directly accused of making *Jupiter* the author of perjury in what follows, which is one of the chief of *Plato's* objections against him.

Tho' secret anger swell'd *Minerva's* breast,
 The prudent Goddess yet her wrath suppress;
 But *Juno*, impotent of passion, broke
 Her sullen silence, and with fury spoke.
 Shall then, O tyrant of th' etherial reign! 35
 My schemes, my labours, and my hopes be vain?
 Have I, for this, shook *Ilion* with alarms,
 Assembled nations, set two worlds in arms?
 To spread the war, I flew from shore to shore;
 Th' immortal couriers scarce the labour bore. 40
 At length ripe vengeance o'er their heads impends,
 But *Jove* himself the faithless race defends:
 Loth as thou art to punish lawless lust,
 Not all the Gods are partial and unjust.

The Sire whose thunder shakes the cloudy skies, 45
 Sighs from his inmost soul, and thus replies;
 Oh lasting rancour! oh insatiate hate
 To *Phrygia's* monarch and the *Phrygian* state!
 What high offence has fir'd the wife of *Jove*,
 Can wretched mortals harm the pow'rs above? 50
 That *Troy* and *Troy's* whole race thou would'st confound,
 And yon fair structures level to the ground?
 Haste, leave the skies, fulfil thy stern desire,
 Burst all her gates, and wrap her walls in fire!

Let

V. 31. *Tho' secret anger swell'd Minerva's breast.*] *Spandanus* takes notice that *Minerva*, who in the first book had restrained the anger of *Achilles*, had now an opportunity of exerting the same conduct in respect to herself. We may bring the parallel close, by observing that she had before her in like manner a superior, who had provoked her by sharp expressions, and whose councils ran against her sentiments. In all which the Poet takes care to preserve her still in the practice of that *Wisdom* of which she was Goddess.

Let *Priam* bleed! if yet thou thirst for more, 55
 Bleed all his sons, and *Ilion* float with gore,
 To boundless vengeance the wide realm be giv'n,
 'Till vast destruction glut the Queen of Heav'n!
 So let it be, and *Jove* his peace enjoy,
 When heav'n no longer hears the name of *Troy*. 60
 But should this arm prepare to wreak our hate
 On thy lov'd realms; whose guilt demands their fate,
 Presume not thou the lifted bolt to stay,
 Remember *Troy*, and give the vengeance way.

O 4

For

V. 55. *Let Priam bleed, &c.*] We find in *Persius's* satyrs the name of *Labea*, as an ill poet who made a miserable translation of the *Iliad*; one of whose verses is still preserved, and happens to be that of this place.

Crudum manducet Priamum, Priamique pifinos.

It may seem from this, that his translation was servilely literal (as the old *Scholiast* on *Persius* observes,) And one cannot but take notice that *Ogilby's* and *Hobbes's* in this place are not unlike *Labea's*.

*Both King and people thou would'st eat alive;
 And eat up Priam and his children all.*

V. 61. *But should this arm prepare to wreak our hate
 On thy lov'd realms—*]

Homer in this place has made *Jupiter* to prophesy the destruction of *Mycenæ* the favoured city of *Juno*, which happened a little before the time of our author. *Strabo*, l. 8. The Trojan war being over, and the kingdom of *Agamemnon* destroyed, *Mycenæ* daily decreased after the return of the *Heraclidæ*: For these becoming masters of *Peloponnesus*, cast out the old inhabitants; so that they who possessed *Argos* overcame *Mycenæ* also, and contracted both into one body. A short time after, *Mycenæ* was destroyed by *Argives*, and not the least remains of it are now to be found.

For know, of all the num'rous towns that rise 65
Beneath the rolling sun and starry skies,
Which Gods have rais'd, or earth-born men enjoy;
None stands so dear to *Jove* as sacred *Troy*.
No mortals merit more distinguish'd grace
Than god-like *Priam*, or than *Priam's* race. 70
Still to our name their hecatombs expire,
And altars blaze with unextinguish'd fire.

At this the Goddess roll'd her radiant eyes,
Then on the Thund'rer fixed them, and replies.
Three towns are *Juno's* on the *Grecian* plains, 75
More dear than all th' extended earth contains,
Mycenæ, *Argos*, and the *Spartan* wall;
These thou may'st raze, nor I forbid their fall:
'Tis not in me the vengeance to remove;
The crime's sufficient that they share my love. 80
Of pow'r superior why should I complain?
Resent I may, but must resent in vain.
Yet some distinction *Juno* might require
Sprung with thyself from one celestial Sire,
A Goddess born to share the realms above, 85
And stil'd the consort of the thund'ring *Jove*;
Nor thou a wife and sister's right deny?
Let both consent, and both by turns comply;
So shall the Gods our joint decrees obey,
And heav'n shall act as we direct the way. 90
See ready *Pallas* waits thy high commands,
To raise in arms the *Greek* and *Phrygian* bands,
Their sudden friendship by her arts may cease,
And the proud *Trojans* first infringe the peace.

The

The Sire of men, and Monarch of the sky 95
 Th' advice approv'd, and bade *Minerva* fly,
 Dissolve the league, and all her arts employ
 To make the breach the faithless act of *Troy*.

Fir'd with the charge, she headlong urg'd her flight,
 And shot like light'ning from *Olympus*' height. 100
 As the red comet, from *Saturnius* sent
 To fright the nations with a dire portent,
 (A fatal sign to armies on the plain,
 Or trembling sailors on the wintry main)
 With sweeping glories glides along in air, 105
 And shakes the sparkles from its blazing hair:
 Between both armies thus, in open fight,
 Shot the bright Goddess in a trail of light.

O 5

With

V. 96. *Th' advice approv'd.*] This is one of the places for which *Homer* is blamed by *Plato*, who introduces *Socrates* reprehending it in his dialogue of the Republick. And indeed if it were granted that the *Trojans* had no right to break this treaty, the present machine where *Juno* is made to propose perjury, *Jupiter* to allow it, and *Minerva* to be commissioned to hasten the execution of it, would be one of the hardest to be reconciled to reason in the whole Poem. Unless even then one might imagine, that *Homer*'s heaven is sometimes no more than an ideal world of abstracted beings; and so every motion which rises in the mind of man is attributed to the quality to which it belongs, with the name of the Deity who is supposed to preside over that quality super-added to it. In this sense the present allegory is easy enough. *Pandarus* thinks it *prudence* to gain honour and wealth at the hands of the *Trojans* by destroying *Menelaus*. This sentiment is also incited by a notion of *glory*, of which *Juno* is represented as Goddess. *Jupiter*, who is supposed to know the thoughts of men, permits the action which he is not the author of; but sends a prodigy at the same time to give warning of a coming mischief, and accordingly we find both armies descanting upon the sight of it in the following lines.

With eyes erect the gazing hosts admire
 The pow'r descending, and the heav'ns on fire ! 110
 The Gods (they cry'd) the Gods this signal sent,
 And fate now labours with some vast event :
Jove seals the league, or bloodier scenes prepares ;
Jove, the great Arbiter of peace and wars !

They said, while *Pallas* thro' the *Trojan* throng
 (In shape a mortal) pass'd disguis'd along. 116
 Like bold *Laödicus*, her course she bent,
 Who from *Antenor* trac'd his high descent.
 Amidst the ranks *Lycaon's* son she found,
 The warlike *Pandarus* for strength renown'd ; 120
 Whose squadrons, led from black *Æsepus'* flood,
 With flaming shields in martial circle stood.

To him the Goddess : *Phrygian* ! canst thou hear
 A well-tim'd counsel with a willing ear ? 124

What

V. 120. *Pandarus for strength renown'd.*] *Homer*, says *Plutarch* in his treatise of the *Pythian Oracle*, makes not the Gods to use all persons indifferently as their second agents, but each according to the powers he is endued with by art or nature. For a proof of this, he puts us in mind how *Minerva*, when she would persuade the *Greeks*, seeks for *Ulysses* ; when she would break the truce, for *Pandarus* ; and when she would conquer, for *Diomed*. If we consult the *Scholia* upon this instance, they give several reasons why *Pandarus* was particularly proper for the occasion. The Goddess went not to the *Trojans*, because they hated *Paris*, and (as we are told in the end of the foregoing book) would rather have given him up, than have done an ill action for him : She therefore looks among the allies, and finds *Pandarus*, who was of a nation noted for perfidiousness, and had a soul avaricious enough to be capable of engaging in this treachery for the hopes of a reward from *Paris* : as appears from his being so covetous as not to bring horses to the siege for fear of the expence or loss of them ; as he tells *Æneas* in the fifth book.

What praise were thine, cou'dst thou direct thy dart
Amidst his triumph to the *Spartan's* heart?

What gifts from *Troy*, from *Paris* wouldst thou gain,
Thy country's foe, the *Grecian* glory slain?

Then seize th' occasion, dare the mighty deed,
Aim at his breast, and may that aim succeed! 130

But first, to speed the shaft, address thy vow
To *Lycian Phœbus* with the silver bow,
And swear the firstlings of thy flock to pay
On *Zelia's* altars to the God of day.

He heard, and madly at the motion pleas'd, 135
His polish'd bow with hasty rashness seiz'd.

'Twas form'd of horn, and smooth'd with artful toil,
A mountain-goat resign'd the shining spoil,

Who pierc'd long since beneath his arrows bled; }
The stately quarry on the cliffs lay dead, 140 }

And sixteen palms his brows large honours spread: }
The workman join'd, and shap'd the bended horns,
And beaten gold each taper point adorns.

This, by the *Greeks* unseen, the warrior bends,
Screen'd by the shields of his surrounding friends. 145
There

V. 141, *Sixteen palms.*] Both the horns together made this length; and not each, as *Madam Dacier* renders it. I do not object it as an improbability, that the horns were of sixteen palms each; but that this would be an extravagant and unmanageable size for a bow, is evident.

V. 144. *This, by the Greeks unseen, the warrior bends.*] The Poet having held us thro' the foregoing book, in expectation of a peace, makes the conditions to be here broken after such a manner, as should oblige the *Greeks* to act thro' the war with that irreconcilable fury, which affords him the opportunity of exerting the full fire of his own genius. The shot of *Pandarus* being therefore of such consequence (and as he

There meditates the mark ; and couching low,
 Fits the sharp arrow to the well-strung bow.
 One, from a hundred feather'd deaths he chose,
 Fated to wound, and cause of future woes.
 Then offers vows with hecatombs to crown 150
Apollo's altars in his native town.

Now with full force the yielding horn he bends,
 Drawn to an arch, and joins the doubling ends ;
 Close to his breast he strains the nerve below,
 'Till the barb'd point approach the circling bow ; 155
 Th' impatient weapon whizzes on the wing ;
 Sounds the tough horn, and twangs the quiv'ring string.
 But

he calls it, the ἔπειρα ὀδυράων, the *foundation of future woes*) it was thought fit not to pass it over in a few words, like the flight of every common arrow, but to give it a description some way corresponding to its importance. For this, he surrounds it with a train of circumstances ; the history of the bow, the bending it, the covering *Pandarus* with shields, the choice of the arrow, the prayer, and posture of the shooter, the sound of the string, and flight of the shaft ; all most beautifully and lively painted. It may be observed too, how proper a time it was to expatiate in these particulars ; when the armies being unemployed, and only one man acting, the Poet and his readers had leisure to be the spectators of a single and deliberate action. I think it will be allowed, that the little circumstances which are sometimes thought too redundant in *Homer*, have a wonderful beauty in this place. *Virgil* has not failed to copy it, and with the greatest happiness imaginable.

*Dixit, & auratâ voluerem Threïssa sagittam
 Deprompsit pharetrâ, cornuque infensa tetendit,
 Et duxit longè, donec curvata coirent
 Inter se capita & manibus jam tangeret æquis,
 Læva aciem ferri, dextrâ nervoque papillam.
 Extemplò teli stridorem aurasque sonantes
 Auduit unâ Aruns, læsitque in corpore ferrum.*

But thee, *Atrides* ! in that dang'rous hour
 The Gods forget not, nor thy guardian pow'r.
Pallas assists, and (weaken'd in its force) 160
 Diverts the weapon from its destin'd course ;
 So from her babe, when slumber seals his eye,
 The watchful mother wasts th' envenom'd fly.
 Just where his belt with golden buckles join'd,
 Where linen folds the double corslet lin'd, 165
 She turn'd the shaft, which hissing from above,
 Pass'd the broad belt, and thro' the corslet drove ;
 The folds it pierc'd, the plaited linen tore,
 And raz'd the skin, and drew the purple gore.

As

V. 160. *Pallas assists, and (weaken'd in its force) Diverts the weapon.*—] For she only designed by all this action, to encrease the glory of the *Greeks* in the taking of *Troy*: Yet some Commentators have been so stupid, as to wonder that *Pallas* should be employed first in wounding of *Menelaus*, and after in the protecting him.

V. 163. *Wasts the envenom'd fly.*] This is one of those humble comparisons which *Homer* sometimes uses to diversify his subject, but a very exact one in its kind, and corresponding in all its parts. The care of the Goddess, the unsuspecting security of *Menelaus*, the ease with which she diverts the danger, and the danger itself, are all included in this short compass. To which it may be added, that if the providence of heavenly powers to their creatures is expressed by the love of a mother to her child, if men in regard to them are but as heedless sleeping infants, and if those dangers, which may seem great to us, are by them as easily warded off as the simile implies; there will appear something sublime in this conception, however little and low the image may be thought at first sight in respect to a hero. A higher comparison would have but tended to lessen the disparity between the Gods and man, and the justness of the simile had been lost, as well as the grandeur of the sentiment.

As when some stately trappings are decreed 170
 To grace a monarch on his bounding steed,
 A nymph, in *Caria* or *Mæonia* bred,
 Stains the pure iv'ry with a lively red;
 With equal lustre various colours-vye,
 The shining whiteness, and the *Tyrian* dye. 175
 So, great *Atrides*! shew'd thy sacred blood,
 As down thy snowy thigh distill'd the streaming flood,
 With

V. 170. *As when some stately trappings, &c.*] Some have judged the circumstances in this simile to be superfluous, and think it foreign to the purpose to take notice, that this ivory was intended for the bosses of a bridle, was laid up for a prince, or that a woman of *Caria* or *Mæonia* dyed it. *Eustathius* was of a different opinion, who extols this passage for the variety it presents, and the learning it includes: We learn from hence that the *Lydians* and *Carians* were famous in the first times for staining in purple, and that the women excelled in works of ivory: As also, that there were certain ornaments which only Kings and Princes were privileged to wear. But without having recourse to antiquities to justify this particular, it may be alledged, that the simile does not consist barely in the colours; it was but little to tell us, that the blood of *Menelaus* appearing on the whiteness of his skin, dyed with the purple ivory; but this implies, that the honourable wounds of a hero are the beautiful dress of war, and become him as much as the most gallant ornaments in which he takes the field. *Virgil*, 'tis true, has omitted the circumstance in his imitation of this comparison, *Æn.* 12.

Indum sanguineo veluti violaverit ostro
Si quis ebur—

But in this he judges only for himself, and does not condemn *Homer*. It was by no means proper that his ivory should have been a piece of martial accoutrement, when he applied it so differently, transferring it from the wounds of a hero to the blushes of the fair *Lavinia*.

V. 177. *As down thy snowy thigh.*] *Homer* is very particular here, in giving the picture of the blood running in a long
 trace,

With horror seiz'd, the King of Men descry'd
 The shaft infix'd, and saw the gushing tide ;
 Nor less the *Spartan* fear'd, before he found 180
 The shining barb appear above the wound.
 Then, with a sigh that heav'd his manly breast,
 The royal brother thus his grief exprest,
 And grasp'd his hand ; while all the *Greeks* around
 With answering sighs return'd the plaintive sound. 185
 Oh dear as life ! did I for this agree
 The solemn truce, a fatal truce to thee !

Wert

trace, lower and lower, as will appear from the words themselves.

Τοῖσι τοι Μενέλαε μιάνην αἵματι μηροῖ
 Εὐφύαις, κνήμαί τ', ἠδὲ σφυρα καλ' ὑπένερθε.

The translator has not thought fit to mention every one of these parts, first the thigh, then the leg, then the foot, which might be tedious in *English*: But the Author's design being only to image the streaming of the blood, it seemed equivalent to make it trickle thro' the length of an *Alexandrine* line.

V. 186. *O dear as life, &c.*] The incident of the wound of *Menelaus* gives occasion to *Homer* to draw a fine description of fraternal love in *Agamemnon*. On the first sight of it, he is struck with amaze and confusion, and now breaks out in tenderness and grief. He first accuses himself as the cause of this misfortune, by having consented to expose his brother to the single combat, which had drawn on this fatal consequence. Next he inveighs against the *Trojans* in general for their perfidiousness, as not yet knowing that it was the act of *Pandarus* only. He then comforts himself with the confidence that the Gods will revenge him upon *Troy*; but doubts by what hands this punishment may be inflicted, as fearing the death of *Menelaus* will force the *Greeks* to return with shame to their country. There is no contradiction in all this, but on the other side a great deal of nature, in the confused sentiments of *Agamemnon* on the occasion, as they are very well explained by *Spondanus*.

Wert thou expos'd to all the hostile train,
 To fight for *Greece*, and conquer, to be slain?
 The race of *Trojans* in thy ruin join, 190
 And faith is scorn'd by all the perjur'd line.
 Not thus our vows, confirm'd with wine and gore,
 Those hands we plighted, and those oaths we swore,
 Shall all be vain: When heav'n's revenge is slow,
Jove but prepares to strike the fiercer blow. 195
 The day shall come, that great avenging day,
 Which *Troy's* proud glories in the dust shall lay,
 When *Priam's* pow'rs and *Priam's* self shall fall,
 And one prodigious ruin swallow all.
 I see the God, already from the pole 200
 Bare his red arm, and bid the thunder roll;
 I see th' Eternal all his fury shed,
 And shake his *Ægis* o'er their guilty head.
 Such mighty woes on perjur'd Princes wait;
 But thou, alas! deserv'st a happier fate. 205
 Still must I mourn the period of thy days,
 And only mourn, without my share of praise?
 Depriv'd of thee, the heartless *Greeks* no more
 Shall dream of conquests on the hostile shore;
Troy seiz'd of *Helen*, and our glory lost, 210
 Thy bones shall moulder on a foreign coast:
 While some proud *Trojan* thus insulting cries,
 (And spurns the dust where *Menelaus* lies)

“ Such

V. 212. *While some proud Trojan, &c.*] *Agamemnon* here
 calls to mind how, upon the death of his brother, the inef-
 fectual preparations and actions against *Troy* must become a
 derision to the world. This is in its own nature a very irri-
 tating sentiment, though it were never so carelessly expressed;
 but the Poet has found out a peculiar air of aggravation, in
 making

"Such are the trophies *Greece* from *Ilion* brings,
 "And such the conquests of her King of Kings! 215
 "Lo his proud vessels scatter'd o'er the main,
 "And unreveng'd, his mighty brother slain."
 Oh! ere that dire disgrace shall blast my fame,
 O'erwhelm me, earth! and hide a monarch's shame.

He said: A leader's and a brother's fears 220
 Possess his soul, which thus the *Spartan* cheers:
 Let not thy words the warmth of *Greece* abate;
 The feeble dart is guiltless of my fate:
 Stiff with the rich embroider'd work around,
 My vary'd belt repell'd the flying wound. 225

To whom the King. My brother and my friend,
 Thus, always thus, may heav'n thy life defend!
 Now seek some skilful hand, whose pow'rful art
 May stanch th' effusion, and extract the dart.
 Herald, be swift, and bid *Machaon* bring 230
 His speedy succour to the *Spartan* King;

Pierc'd

making him bring all the consequences before his eyes, in a picture of their *Trojan* enemies gathering round the tomb of the unhappy *Menelaus*, elated with pride, insulting the dead, and throwing out some disdainful expressions and curses against him and his family. There is nothing which could more effectually represent a state of anguish, than the drawing such an image as this, which shews a man increasing his present unhappiness by the prospect of a future train of misfortunes.

V. 222. *Let not thy words the warmth of Greece abate.*] In *Agamemnon*, Homer has shewn an example of a tender nature and fraternal affection, and now in *Menelaus* he gives us one of a generous warlike patience and presence of mind. He speaks of his own case with no other regard, but as this accident of his wound may tend to the discouragement of the soldiers; and exhorts the General to beware of dejecting their spirits from the prosecution of the war. *Spindannus*.

Pierc'd with a winged shaft (the deed of *Troy*)
The *Grecian's* sorrow and the *Dardan's* joy.

With hasty zeal the swift *Talthybius* flies,
Thro' the thick files he darts his searching eyes, 235
And finds *Machaon*, where sublime he stands
In arms encircled with his native bands.

Then thus : *Machaon*, to the King repair,
His wounded brother claims thy timely care ;
Pierc'd by some *Lycian* or *Dardanian* bow, 240
A grief to us, a triumph to the foe.

The heavy tidings griev'd the godlike man ;
Swift to his succour thro' the ranks he ran :
The dauntless King yet standing firm he found,
And all the chiefs in deep concern around. 245

Where to the steely point the reed was join'd,
The shaft he drew, but left the head behind.
Strait the broad belt, with gay embroid'ry grac'd,
He loos'd ; the corset from his breast unbrac'd ;
Then suck'd the blood, and sov'reign balm infus'd,
Which *Chiron* gave, and *Æsculapius* us'd. 251

While round the Prince the *Greeks* employ their care,
The *Trojans* rush tumultuous to the war ;
Once more they glitter in refulgent arms,
Once more the fields are fill'd with dire alarms. 255
Nor had you seen the King of Men appear
Confus'd, unactive, or surpriz'd with fear ;

But

V. 253.] *The Trojans rush tumultuous to the war.*] They advanced to the enemy in the belief that the shot of *Pandarus* was made by order of the Generals. *Dacier*.

V. 256. *Nor had you seen.*] The Poet here changes his narration, and turns himself to the reader in an *Apostrophe*.
Longinus,

But fond of glory, with severe delight,
 His beating bosom claim'd the rising fight.
 No longer with his warlike steeds he stay'd, 260
 Or press'd the car with polish'd brass inlay'd :
 But left *Eurymedon* the reins to guide ;
 The fiery coursers snorted at his side.
 On foot thro' all the martial ranks he moves,
 And these encourages, and those reproves. 265

Brave

Longinus, in his 22d chapter, commends this figure, as causing a reader to become a spectator, and keeping his mind fixed upon the action before him. *The Apostrophe* (says he) renders us more awaken'd, more attentive, and more full of the thing described. *Madam Dacier* will have it, that it is the Muse who addresses herself to the Poet in the second person : 'Tis no great matter which, since it has equally its effect either way.

V. 264. *Thro' all the martial ranks he moves, &c.*] In the following review of the army, which takes up a great part of this book, we see all the spirit, art, and industry of a compleat General ; together with the proper characters of those leaders whom he incites. *Agamemnon* considers at this sudden exigence, that he should first address himself to all in general ; he divides his discourse to the brave and the fearful, using arguments which arise from confidence or despair, passions which act upon us most forcibly : To the brave, he urges their secure hopes of conquest, since the Gods must punish perjury ; to the timorous, their inevitable destruction, if the enemy should burn their ships. After this he flies from rank to rank, applying himself to each ally with particular artifice : He caresses *Idomeneus* as an old friend, who had promised not to forsake him ; and meets with an answer in that hero's true character, short, honest, hearty, and soldier like. He praises the *Ajaxes* as warriors whose examples fired the army ; and is received by them without any reply, as they were men who did not profess speaking. He passes next to *Nestor*, whom he finds talking to his soldiers as he marshalled them ; here he was not to part without a compliment on both sides ; he wishes him the strength he had once in his youth, and is answered with an account of something which

Brave men ! he cries (to such who boldly dare
Urge their swift steeds to face the coming war)
Your ancient valour on the foes approve :

Jove is with *Greece*, and let us trust in *Jove*.

'Tis not for us, but guilty *Troy*, to dread, 270
Whose crimes sit heavy on her perjur'd head ;
Her sons and matrons *Greece* shall lead in chains,
And her dead warriors strow the mournful plains.

Thus with new ardour he the brave inspires ;
Or thus the fearful with reproaches fires. 275

Shame to your country, scandal of your kind !

Born to the fate ye well deserve to find !

Why stand ye gazing round the dreadful plain,

Prepar'd for flight, but doom'd to fly in vain ?

Confus'd and panting, thus, the hunted deer 280

Falls as he flies, a victim to his fear.

Still must ye wait the foes, and still retire,

'Till yon' tall vessels blaze with *Trojan* fire ?

Or

which the old hero had done in his former days. From hence he goes to the troops which lay farthest from the place of action ; where he finds *Meneſtheus* and *Ulyſſes*, not entirely unprepared, nor yet in motion, as being ignorant of what had happened. He reproves *Ulyſſes* for this, with words agreeable to the hurry he is in, and receives an answer which suits not ill with the twofold character of a wise and a valiant man : Hereupon *Agamemnon* appears present to himself, and excuses his hasty expressions. The next he meets is *Diomed*, whom he also rebukes for backwardness, but after another manner, by setting before him the example of his father. Thus is *Agamemnon* introduced, praising, terrifying, exhorting, blaming, excusing himself, and again relapsing into reproofs ; a lively picture of a great mind in the highest emotion. And at the same time the variety is so kept up, with regard to the different characters of the leaders, that our thoughts are not tired with running along with him over all his army.

Or trust ye, *Jove* a valiant foe shall chace,
To save a trembling, heartless, dastard race ? 285

This said, he stalk'd with ample strides along,
To *Crete's* brave monarch and his martial throng ;
High at their head he saw the chief appear,
And bold *Meriones* excite the rear.

At this the King his gen'rous joy exprest, 290
And clasp'd the warrior to his armed breast.

Divine *Idomeneus* ! what thanks we owe
To worth like thine ? what praise shall we bestow ?
To thee the foremost honours are decreed,
First in the fight, and ev'ry graceful deed. 295

For this, in banquets, when the gen'rous bowls
Restore our blood, and raise the warriors souls,
Tho' all the rest with stated rules we bound,
Unmix'd, unmeasur'd are thy goblets crown'd.
Be still thyself ; in arms a mighty name ; 300
Maintain thy honours, and enlarge thy fame.

To whom the *Cretan* thus his speech address ;
Secure of me, O King ! exhort the rest :
Fix'd to thy side, in ev'ry toil I share,
Thy firm associate in the day of war. 305

But

V. 296. *For this, in banquets.*] The ancients usually in their feasts divided to the guests by equal portions, except when they took some particular occasion to shew distinction, and give the preference to any one person. It was then looked upon as the highest mark of honour to be allotted the best portion of meat and wine, and to be allowed an exemption from the laws of the feast, in drinking wine unmingled and without stint. This custom was much more ancient than the time of the *Trojan* war, and we find it practised in the banquet given by *Joseph* to his brethren in *Egypt*, *Gen. 45. v. ult.* And he sent messes to them from before him, but Benjamin's mess was five times so much as any of theirs. *Dacier.*

But let the signal be this moment giv'n,
To mix in fight is all I ask of heav'n.
The field shall prove how perjuries succeed
And chains or death avenge their impious deed.

Charm'd with this heat, the King his course pursues,
And next the troops of either *Ajax* views : 311
In one firm orb the bands were rang'd around,
A cloud of heroes blacken'd all the ground.
Thus from the lofty promontory's brow
A swain surveys the gath'ring storm below ; 315
Slow from the main the heavy vapours rise,
Spread in dim streams, and sail along the skies,
'Till black as night the swelling tempest shows,
The cloud condensing as the West-wind blows :
He dreads th' impending storm, and drives his flock
To the close covert of an arching rock. 321

Such, and so thick, th' embattel'd squadrons stood,
With spears erect, a moving iron wood ;
A shady light was shot from glimm'ring shields,
And their brown arms obscur'd the dusky fields. 325

O heroes ! worthy such a dauntless train,
Whose godlike virtue we but urge in vain,
(Exclaim'd the King) who raise your eager bands
With great examples more than loud commands.
Ah would the gods but breathe in all the rest 330
Such souls as burn in your exalted breast !
Soon should our arms with just success be crown'd,
And *Troy's* proud walls lie smoaking on the ground.

Then to the next the Gen'ral bends his course ;
(His heart exults, and glories in his force) 335

There

There rev'rend *Nestor* ranks his *Pylian* bands,
 And with inspiring eloquence commands;
 With strictest order sets his train in arms,
 The chiefs advises, and the soldiers warms.
Alastor, *Chromius*, *Hemon* round him wait, 340
Bias the good, and *Pelagon* the great.
 The horse and chariots to the front assign'd,
 The foot (the strength of war) he rang'd behind;
 The middle space suspected troops supply,
 Inclos'd by both, nor left the pow'r to fly: 345
 He

V. 336. *There rev'rend Nestor ranks his Pylian bands.*] This is the Prince whom *Homer* chiefly celebrates for martial discipline; of the rest he is content to say they were valiant and ready to fight: The years, long observation and experience of *Nestor*, render'd him the fittest person to be distinguished on this account. The disposition of his troops on this place (together with what he is made to say, that their forefathers used the same method) may be a proof that the art of war was well known in *Greece* before the time of *Homer*. Nor indeed can it be imagined otherwise in an age when all the world made their acquisitions by force of arms only. What is most to be wondered at, is, that they had not the use of *cavalry*, all men engaging either on foot, or from *chariots* (a particular necessary to be known by every reader of *Homer's* battles.) In these chariots there were always two persons, one of whom only fought, the other was wholly employed in managing the horses. *Madam Dacier*, in her excellent preface to *Homer*, is of opinion, that there were no horsemen till near the time of *Saul*, threescore years after the siege of *Troy*; so that although cavalry were in use in *Homer's* days, yet he thought himself obliged to regard the customs of the age of which he writ, rather than those of his own.

V. 344. *The middle space suspected troops supply.*] This artifice of placing those men whose behaviour was most to be doubted, in the middle, (so as to put them under a necessity of engaging even against their inclinations) was followed by *Hannibal* in the battle of *Zama*; as is observed and praised by *Polybius*,

He gives command to curb the fiery steed ;
 Nor cause confusion, nor the ranks exceed ;
 Before the rest let none too rashly ride ;
 No strength nor skill, but just in time, be try'd :
 The charge once made, no warrior turn the rein, 350
 But fight, or fall ; a firm, embody'd train.
 He whom the fortune of the field shall cast
 From forth his chariot, mount the next in haste ;

Nor

Polybius, who quotes this verse on that occasion, in acknowledgment of *Homer's* skill in military discipline. That our Author was the first master of that art in *Greece*, is the opinion of *Ælian*, *Tactic. c. 1.* *Frontinus* gives us another example of *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus's* following this instruction of *Homer*. *Vide Stratag. lib. 2. c. 3.* So *Ammianus Marcellinus*, *l. 14.* *Imperator catervis peditum infirmis, medium inter acies spatium, secundum Homericam dispositionem, præstituit.*

V. 352. *He whom the fortune of the field shall cast
 From forth his chariot, mount the next, &c.]*

The words in the original are capable of four different significations, as *Eastathius* observes. The first is, that whoever in fighting upon his chariot shall win a chariot from his enemy, he shall continue to fight, and not retire from the engagement to secure his prize. The second, that if any one be thrown out of his chariot, he who happens to be nearest shall hold forth his javelin to help him up into his own. The third is directly the contrary to the last, that if any one be cast from his chariot, and would mount up into another man's, that other shall push him back with his javelin, and not admit him, for fear of interrupting the combat. The fourth is the sense which is followed in the translation, as seeming much the most natural, that every one should be left to govern his own chariot, and the other who is admitted, fight only with the javelin. The reason of this advice appears by the speech of *Pandarus* to *Æneas* in the next book : *Æneas* having taken him up in his chariot to go against *Diomed*, compliments him with the choice either to fight, or to manage the reins, which was esteemed an office

Nor seek unpractis'd to direct the car,
 Content with jav'lins to provoke the war. 355
 Our great forefathers held this prudent course,
 Thus rul'd their ardour, and preserv'd their force,
 By laws like these immortal conquests made,
 And earth's proud tyrants low in ashes laid.

So spoke the master of the martial art, 360
 And touch'd with transport great *Atrides'* heart.
 Oh! had'st thou strength to match thy brave desires,
 And nerves to second what thy soul inspires!
 But wasting years that wither human race,
 Exhaust thy spirits, and thy arms unbrace. 365
 What once thou wert, oh ever might'st thou be!
 And age the lot of any chief but thee.

Thus to th' experienc'd Prince *Atrides* cry'd;
 He shook his hoary locks, and thus reply'd.

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P

Well

of honour. To this *Pandarus* answers, that it is more proper for *Aeneas* to guide his own horses: lest they not feeling their accustomed master, should be ungovernable, and bring them into danger.

Upon occasion of the various and contrary significations of which these words are said to be capable, and which *Eustathius* and *Dacier* profess to admire as an excellence; *Monf. de la Mette*, in his late discourse upon *Homer*, very justly animadverts, that if this be true, it is a grievous fault in *Homer*. For what can be more absurd than to imagine, that the orders given in battle should be delivered in such ambiguous terms, as to be capable of many meanings? These double interpretations must proceed not from any design in the Author, but purely from the ignorance of the moderns in the *Greek* tongue: It being impossible for any one to possess the dead languages to such a degree as to be certain of all the graces and negligences; or to know precisely how far the licences and boldnesses of expression were happy, or forced. But Criticks, to be thought learned, attribute to the Poet all the random senses that amuse them, and imagine they see in a single word a whole heap of things, which no modern language can express; so are oftentimes charmed with nothing but the confusion of their own ideas.

Well might I wish, could mortal wish renew 370
 That strength which once in boiling youth I knew;
 Such as I was, when *Ereuthalion* slain
 Beneath this arm fell prostrate on the plain.
 But heav'n its gifts not all at once bestows,
 These years with wisdom crowns, with action those:
 The field of combat fits the young and bold, 376
 The solemn council best becomes the old:
 To you the glorious conflict I resign,
 Let sage advice, the palm of age, be mine.

He said. With joy the monarch march'd before,
 And found *Menestheus* on the dusty shore, 381
 With whom the firm *Athenian* Phalanx stands;
 And next *Ulysses* with his subject bands.
 Remote their forces lay, nor knew so far
 The peace infringing'd, nor heard the sounds of war;
 The tumult late begun, they stood intent 386
 To watch the motion, dubious of th' event.
 The King, who saw their squadrons yet unmov'd,
 With hasty ardour thus their chiefs reprov'd.

Can *Peteus'* son forget a warrior's part, 390
 And fears *Ulysses*, skill'd in ev'ry art?
 Why stand you distant, and the rest expect
 To mix in combat which yourselves neglect?

From

V. 384. *Remote their forces lay.*] This is a reason why the troops of *Ulysses* and *Menestheus* were not yet in motion. Tho' another may be added with respect to the former, that it did not consist with the wisdom of *Ulysses* to fall on with his forces till he was well assured. Tho' courage be no inconsiderable part of his character, yet it is always joined with great caution. Thus we see him soon after in the very heat of battle, when his friend was just slain before his eyes, first looking carefully about him, before he would throw his spear to revenge him.

From you 'twas hop'd among the first to dare
 The shock of armies, and commence the war. 395
 For this your names are call'd, before the rest,
 To share the pleasures of the genial feast :
 And can you, chiefs ! without a blush survey
 Whole troops before you lab'ring in the fray ?
 Say, is it thus those honours you requite ? 400
 The first in banquets, but the last in fight.

Ulysses heard : The hero's warmth o'erspread
 His cheek with blushes ; and severe, he said :
 Take back th' unjust reproach ! Behold we stand,
 Sheath'd in bright arms, and but expect command. 405
 If glorious deeds afford thy soul delight,
 Behold me plunging in the thickest fight.
 Then give thy warrior-chief a warrior's due,
 Who dares to act whate'er thou dar'st to view.

Struck with his gen'rous wrath, the King replies ;
 Oh great in action, and in council wise ! 411
 With ours, thy care and ardour are the same,
 Nor need I to command, nor ought to blame.
 Sage as thou art, and learn'd in human kind,
 Forgive the transport of a martial mind. 415
 Haste to the fight, secure of just amends ;
 The Gods that make, shall keep the worthy, friends.

He said, and pass'd where great *Tydidēs* lay,
 His steeds and chariots wedg'd in firm array :
 (The warlike *Sthenelus* attends his side) 420
 To whom with stern reproach the monarch cry'd ;
 Oh son of *Tydeus* ! (he, whose strength could tame
 The bounding steed, in arms a mighty name)
 Can'st thou, remote, the mingling hosts descry,
 With hands unactive, and a careless eye ? 425

Not thus thy fire the fierce encounter fear'd ;
 Still first in front the matchless Prince appear'd :
 What glorious toils, what wonders they recite,
 Who view'd him lab'ring thro' the ranks of fight !
 I saw him once, when gath'ring martial pow'rs 430
 A peaceful guest, he fought *Mycenæ's* tow'rs ;
 Armies he ask'd, and armies had been giv'n,
 Not we deny'd, but *Jove* forbad from heav'n ;
 While dreadful comets glaring from afar
 Forewarn'd the horrors of the *Theban* war. 435
 Next, sent by *Greece* from where *Asopus* flows,
 A fearless envoy, he approach'd the foes ;
Thebes' hostile walls, unguarded and alone,
 Dauntless he enters, and demands the throne.
 The tyrant feasting with his chiefs he found, 440
 And dar'd to combat all those chiefs around ;
 Dar'd and subdu'd, before their haughty Lord ;
 For *Pallas* strung his arm, and edg'd his sword.
 Stung with the shame, within the winding way,
 To bar his passage fifty warriors lay ; 445
 Two heroes led the secret squadron on,
Maon the fierce, and hardy *Lycophon* ;
 Those fifty slaughter'd in the gloomy vale,
 He spar'd but one to bear the dreadful tale.
 Such *Tydeus* was, and such his martial fire ; 450
 Gods ! how the son degen'rates from the fire ?

No

V. 430. *I saw him once, when, &c.*] This long narration concerning the history of *Tydeus*, is not of the nature of those for which *Homer* has been blamed with some colour of justice : It is not a cold story, but a warm reproof, while the particularizing the actions of the father is made the highest incentive to the son. Accordingly the air of this speech ought to be inspirited above the common narrative style. As for the story itself, it is finely told by *Statius* in the second book of the *Thebais*.

No words the God-like *Diomed* return'd,
 But heard respectful, and in secret burn'd :
 Not so fierce *Capaneus*' undaunted son,
 Stern as his fire, the boaster thus begun. 455

What needs, O monarch, this invidious praise,
 Ourselves to lessen, while our fires you raise ?
 Dare to be just, *Atrides* ! and confesse,
 Our valour equal, tho' our fury less.
 With fewer troops we storm'd the *Theban* wall, 460
 And happier, saw the sev'nfold city fall.
 In impious acts the guilty fathers dy'd ;
 The sons subdu'd, for heav'n was on their side.

P 3

Far

V. 451. *No words the God-like Diomed return'd.*] " When *Diomed* is reproved by *Agamemnon*, he holds his peace in respect to his General ; but *Sthenelus* retorts upon him with boasting and insolence. It is here worth observing in what manner *Agamemnon* behaves himself ; he passes by *Sthenelus* without affording any reply ; whereas just before, when *Ulysses* testified his resentment, he immediately returned him an answer. For as it is a mean and servile thing, and unbecoming the majesty of a Prince, to make apologies to every man in justification of what he has said or done ; so to treat all men with equal neglect is mere pride and excess of folly. We also see of *Diomed*, that tho' he refrains from speaking in this place, when the time demanded action ; he afterwards expresses himself in such a manner, as shews him not to have been insensible of this unjust rebuke : (in the ninth book) when he tells the King he was the first who had dared to reproach him with want of courage." *Platarch of reading the Poets.*

V. 460. *We storm'd the Theban wall.*] The first *Theban* war, of which *Agamemnon* spoke in the preceding lines, was seven and twenty years before the war of *Troy*. *Sthenelus* here speaks of the second *Theban* war, which happened ten years after the first : when the sons of the seven captains conquered the city, before which their fathers were destroyed. *Tydeus* expired gnawing the head of his enemy, and *Capaneus* was thunder-struck while he blasphemed *Jupiter*. *Vid. Stat. Thebaid.*

Far more than heirs of all our parents fame,
Our glories darken their diminish'd name. 465

To him *Tydidēs* thus. My friend, forbear,
Suppress thy passion, and the King revere :
His high concern may well excuse his rage,
Whose cause we follow, and whose war we wage ;
His the first praise, were *Ilion's* tow'rs o'erthrown, 470
And, if we fail, the chief disgrace his own.
Let him the *Greeks* to hardy toils excite,
Tis ours to labour in the glorious fight.

He spoke, and ardent, on the trembling ground
Sprung from his car ; his ringing arms resound. 475
Dire was the clang, and dreadful from afar,
Of arm'd *Tydidēs* rushing to the war.
As when the winds, ascending by degrees,
First move the whitening surface of the seas,

The

V. 478. *As when the winds.*] Madam Dacier thinks it may seem something odd, that an army going to conquer should be compared to the waves going to break themselves against the shore ; and would solve the appearing absurdity by imagining the Poet laid not the stress so much upon this circumstance, as upon the same waves assailing a rock, lifting themselves over its head, and covering it with foam as the trophy of their victory, (as she expresses it.) But to this it may be answered, That neither did the *Greeks* get the better in this battle, nor will a comparison be allowed intirely beautiful, which instead of illustrating its subject, stands itself in need of so much illustration and refinement, to be brought to agree with it. The passage naturally bears this sense : *As when, upon the rising of the wind, the waves roll after one another to the shore ; at first there is a distant motion in the sea, then they approach to break with noise on the strand, and lastly rise swelling over the rocks, and toss their foam above their heads : So the Greeks, at first, marched in order one after another silently to the fight*—Where the Poet breaks off from prosecuting the comparison, and by a *prolepsis*, leaves the reader to carry it on, and imagine to himself the future tumult, rage, and force of the battle, in opposition to that silence in which he describes

The billows float in order to the shore, 480
 The wave behind rolls on the wave before ;
 'Till, with the growing storm, the deeps arise,
 Foam o'er the rocks, and thunder to the skies.
 So to the fight the thick *Battalions* throng,
 Shields urg'd on shields, and men drive men along. 485
 Sedate and silent move the num'rous bands ;
 No sound, no whisper, but their Chiefs commands,
 Those only heard ; with awe the rest obey,
 As if some God had snatch'd their voice away.
 Not so the *Trojans* ; from their host ascends 490
 A gen'ral shout that all the region rends.
 As when the fleecy flocks unnumber'd stand
 In wealthy folds, and wait the milker's hand,
 The hollow vales incessant bleating fills,
 The lambs reply from all the neighb'ring hills : 495
 P 4 Such

describes the troops at present, in the lines immediately ensuing. What confirms this exposition is, that *Virgil* has made use of the simile in the same sense in the seventh *Æneid*.

*Fluctus uti primo cœpit cùm albescere vento,
 Paulatim sese tollit mare, & altius unlas
 Erigit ; inde imo confurgit ad æthera fundo.*

V. 478. *As when the winds, &c*] This is the first battle in *Homer*, and it is worthy observation with what grandeur it is described, and raised by one circumstance above another, 'till all is involved in horror and tumult : The foregoing simile of the winds, rising by degrees into a general tempest, is an image of the progress of his own spirit in this description. We see first an innumerable army moving in order, and are amused with the pomp and silence ; then awakened with the noise and clamour ; next they join ; the adverse Gods are let down among them ; the imaginary persons of *Terror*, *Flight*, *Discord*, succeed to reinforce them ; then all is undistinguished fury, and a confusion of Horrors, only that at different openings we behold the distinct deaths of several heroes, and then are involved again in the same confusion.

Such clamours rose from various nations round,
 Mix'd was the murmur, and confus'd the found.
 Each host now joins, and each a God inspires,
 These *Mars* incites, and those *Minerva* fires.
 Pale *Flight* around, and dreadful *Terror* reign; 500
 And *Discord* raging bathes the purple plain:
Discord! dire sister of the slaught'ring pow'r,
 Small at her birth, but rising ev'ry hour,

While

V. 502. *Discord, dire sister, &c.*] This is the passage so highly extolled by *Longinus*, as one of the most signal instances of the noble sublimity of this author: where it is said, that the image here drawn of *Discord*, *whose head touched the heavens*, and *whose feet were on earth*, may as justly be applied to the vast reach and elevation of the genius of *Homer*. But *Mons. Boileau* informs us, that neither the quotation nor these words were in the original of *Longinus*, but partly inserted by *Gabriel de Petra*. However the best encomium is, that *Virgil* has taken it word for word, and applied it to the person of *Fame*.

*Parva metu primò, mox sese attollit in auras,
 Ingrediturque solò, & caput inter nubila condit.*

Aristides had formerly blamed *Homer* for admitting *Discord* into heaven, and *Scaliger* takes up the criticism to throw him below *Virgil*. *Fame* (he says) is properly feigned to hide her head in the clouds, because the grounds and authors of rumours are commonly unknown, as if the same might not be alledged for *Homer*, since the grounds and authors of *Discord* are often no less secret. *Macrobius* has put this among the passages where he thinks *Virgil* has fallen short in his imitation of *Homer*, and brings these reasons for his opinion: *Homer* represents *Discord* to rise from small beginnings, and afterwards in her increase to reach the heavens; *Virgil* has said this of *Fame*, but not with equal propriety; for the subjects are very different: *Discord*, tho' it reaches to war and devastation, is still *Discord*; nor ceases to be what it was at first: But *Fame*, when it grows to be universal, is *Fame* no longer, but becomes knowledge and certainty; for who calls any thing *Fame*, which is known from earth to heaven? Nor has *Virgil* equalled the strength of *Homer's* hyperbole?
 for

While scarce the skies her horrid head can bound,
 She stalks on earth, and shakes the world around; 505
 The nations bleed, where-e'er her steps she turns,
 The groan still deepens, and the combat burns.

Now shield with shield, with helmet helmet clos'd,
 To armour armour, lance to lance oppos'd,

P 5

Host

for one speaks of *heaven*, the other only of the *clouds*. *Macrobius*, *Stat. l. 5. c. 13*. *Scaliger* is very angry at this last period, and by mistake blames *Gellius* for it, in whom there is no such thing. His words are so insolently dogmatical, that barely to quote them is to answer them, and the only answer which such a spirit of criticism deserves. *Clamant quod Maro de Famâ dixit eam inter nubila caput condere, cum tamen Homerus, unde ipse accepit, in cælo caput Eridis constituit. Jam tibi pro me respondeo. Non sum imitatus, nolo imitari: non placet, non est verum, Contentionem ponere caput in cælo. Ridiculum est, fatuum est, Homericum est, Græculum est. Poet. l. 5. c. 3.*

This fine verse was also criticised by *Monf. Perrault*, who accuses it as a forced and extravagant hyperbole. *Monf. Boileau* answers, that hyperboles as strong are daily used even in common discourse, and that nothing is in effect more strictly true than that *Discord* reigns over all the earth, and in heaven itself; that is to say, among the Gods of *Homer*. It is not (continues this excellent critic) the description of a giant, as this censor would pretend, but a just allegory; and as he makes *Discord* an allegorical person, she may be of what size he pleases without shocking us; since it is what we regard only as an idea and creature of the fancy, and not as a material substance that has any being in nature. The expression in the *Psalms*, that the *impious man is lifted up as a cedar of Libanus*, does by no means imply that the impious man was a giant as tall as a cedar. Thus far *Boileau*; and upon the whole we may observe, that it seems not only the fate of great geniusses to have met with the most malignant criticisms, but of the finest and noblest passages in them to have been particularly pitched upon for impertinent criticisms. These are the divine boldnesses, which in their very nature provoke ignorance and short-sightedness to shew themselves; and which whoever is capable of attaining, must also certainly know, that they will be attacked by such as cannot reach them.

V. 508. *Now shield with shield, &c.*] The verses which follow in the original are perhaps excelled by none in *Homer*;
 and

Host against host with shadowy squadrons drew, 510
 The founding darts in iron tempests flew,
 Victors and vanquish'd join promiscuous cries,
 And shrilling shouts and dying groans arise;
 With streaming blood the slipp'ry fields are dy'd,
 And slaughter'd heroes swell the dreadful tide. 515

As torrents roll, increas'd by numerous rills,
 With rage impetuous down their echoing hills;
 Rush to the vales, and pour'd along the plain,
 Roar thro' a thousand channels to the main;
 The distant shepherd trembling hears the sound: 520
 So mix both hosts, and so their cries rebound.

The bold *Antilochus* the slaughter led,
 The first who strook a valiant *Trojan* dead:

At

and that he had himself a particular fondness for them, may be imagined from his inserting them again in the same words in the eighth book. They are very happily imitated by *Statius*, lib. 7.

*Jam clypeus clypeis, umbone repellitur umbo,
 Ense minax ensis, pede pes, & cuspide cuspis, &c.*

V. 516. *As torrents roll.*] This comparison of rivers meeting and roaring, with two armies mingling in battle, is an image of that nobleness, which (to say no more) was worthy the invention of *Homer*, and the imitation of *Virgil*.

*Aut ubi decursu rapido de montibus altis,
 Dant sonitum spumosi amnes, & in æquora currunt,
 Quisque suum populatus iter;—Stupet inscius alto
 Accipiens sonitum saxi de vertice pastor.*

The word *populatus* here has a beauty which one must be insensible not to observe. *Scaliger* prefers *Virgil's*, and *Macrobius* *Homer's* without any reasons on either side, but only one critick's positive word against another's. The reader may judge between them.

V. 522. *The bold Antilochus.*] *Antilochus* the son of *Nestor* is the first who begins the engagement. It seems as if the old

At great *Echepolus* the lance arrives,
 Raz'd his high crest, and thro' his helmet drives ; 525
 Warm'd in the brain the brazen weapon lies,
 And shades eternal settle o'er his eyes.
 So sinks a tow'r, that long assaults had stood
 Of force and fire ; its walls besmear'd with blood.
 Him, the bold * Leader of th' *Abantian* throng 530
 Seiz'd to despoil, and dragg'd the corpse along :
 But while he strove to tug th' inserted dart,
Agenor's jav'lin reach'd the hero's heart.
 His flank, unguarded by his ample shield,
 Admits the lance : He falls, and spurns the field ; 535
 The nerves unbrac'd support his limbs no more ;
 The soul comes floating in a tide of gore.
Trojans and *Greeks* now gather round the slain ;
 The war renews, the warriors bleed again ;
 As o'er their prey rapacious wolves engage, 540
 Man dies on man, and all is blood and rage.

In

* *Elphenor*.

old hero having done the greatest service he was capable of at his years, in disposing the troops in the best order (as we have seen before) had taken care to set his son at the head of them, to give him the glory of beginning the battle.

V. 540. *As o'er their prey rapacious wolves engage.*] This short comparison in the *Greek*, consists only of two words, *Λύκοι ως*, which *Scaliger* observes upon as too abrupt. But may it not be answered that such a place as this, where all things are in confusion, seems not to admit of any simile, except of one which scarce exceeds a metaphor in length ? When two heroes are engaged, there is a plain view to be given us of their actions, and there a long simile may be of use, to raise and enliven them by parallel circumstances ; but when the troops fall in promiscuously upon one another, the confusion excludes distinct or particular images ; and consequently comparisons of any length would be less natural.

In blooming youth fair *Simoïsius* fell,
 Sent by great *Ajax* to the shades of hell :
 Fair *Simoïsius*, whom his mother bore
 Amid the flocks on silver *Simois*' shore : 545
 The Nymph descending from the hills of *Ide*,
 To seek her parents on his flow'ry side,
 Brought forth the babe, their common care and joy,
 And thence from *Simois* nam'd the lovely boy.
 Short was his date ! by dreadful *Ajax* slain 550
 He falls, and renders all their cares in vain !
 So falls a poplar, that in watry ground
 Rais'd high the head, with stately brar : hes crown'd,
 (Fell'd

V. 542. *In blooming youth fair Simoïsius fell.*] This Prince received his name from the river *Simois*, on whose banks he was born. It was the custom of the eastern people to give names to their children derived from the most remarkable accidents of their birth. The holy scripture is full of examples of this kind. It is also usual in the Old Testament to compare Princes to trees, cedars, &c. as *Simoïsius* is here resembled to a poplar. *Dacier.*

V. 552. *So falls a poplar.*] *Eustathius* in *Macrobius* prefers to this simile that of *Virgil* in the second *Æneid*.

*Ac veluti in summis antiquam montibus ornum,
 Cum ferro accisam crebrisque bipennibus instant
 Eruere agricolæ certatim; illa usque minatur,
 Et tremefacta comam concusso vertice nutat;
 Vulneribus donec paulatim evicta supremum
 Congemuit, traxitque jugis avulsa ruinam.*

Mr. *Hobbes*, in the preface to his translation of *Homer*, has discours'd upon this occasion very judiciously. *Homer* (says he) intended no more in this place than to shew how comely the body of *Simoïsius* appeared as he lay dead upon the bank of *Scamander*, strait and tall, with a fair head of hair, like a strait and high poplar with the boughs still on; and not at all to describe the manner of his falling, which (when a man is wounded thro' the breast as he was with a spear) is always sudden. *Virgil*'s is the description of a great tree falling when many men together hew it down. He meant

(Fell'd by some artist with his shining steel,
 To shape the circle of the bending wheel) 555
 Cut down it lies, tall, smooth, and largely spread,
 With all its beauteous honours on its head ;
 There left a subject to the wind and rain,
 And scorch'd by suns, it withers on the plain.
 Thus pierc'd by *Ajax*, *Simöisius* lies 560
 Stretch'd on the shore, and thus neglected dies.

At *Ajax*, *Antiphus* his jav'lin threw ;
 The pointed lance with erring fury flew,
 And *Leucus*, lov'd by wife *Ulysses*, flew. }
 He drops the corpse of *Simöisius* slain, 565
 And sinks a breathless carcass on the plain.
 This saw *Ulysses*, and with grief enrag'd
 Strode where the foremost of the foes engag'd ;
 Arm'd with his spear, he meditates the wound,
 Intent to throw ; but cautious, look'd around. 570
 Struck at his sight the *Trojans* backward drew,
 And trembling heard the jav'lin as it flew.
 A Chief stood nigh who from *Abydos* came,
 Old *Friam's* son, *Democoön* was his name ;
 The weapon enter'd close above his ear, 575
 Cold thro' his temples glides the whizzing spear ;
 With piercing shrieks the youth resigns his breath,
 His eye-balls darken with the shades of death ;

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Q

Pond'rous

to compare the manner how *Troy* after many battles, and after the loss of many cities, conquered by the many nations under *Agamemnon* in a long war, was thereby weakened, and at last overthrown, with a great tree hewn round about, and then falling by little and little leisurely. So that neither these two descriptions, nor the two comparisons, can be compared together. The image of a man lying on the ground is one thing ; the image of falling (especially of a kingdom) is another. This therefore gives no advantage to *Virgil* over *Homer*. Thus Mr. *Hibbes*.

Pond'rous he falls ; his clanging arms resound ;
 And his broad buckler rings against the ground. 580
 Seiz'd with affright the boldest foes appear ;
 Ev'n godlike *Hector* seems himself to fear ;
 Slow he gave way, the rest tumultuous fled ;
 The *Greeks* with shouts press on, and spoil the dead.
 But *Phæbus* now from *Ilion's* tow'ring height 585
 Shines forth reveal'd, and animates the fight.
Trojans, be bold, and force with force oppose ;
 Your foaming steeds urge headlong on the foes !
 Nor are their bodies rocks, nor ribb'd with steel ;
 Your weapons enter, and your strokes they feel. 590
 Have you forgot what seem'd your dread before ?
 The great, the fierce *Achilles* fights no more.
Apollo thus from *Ilion's* lofty tow'rs,
 Array'd in terrors, rouz'd the *Trojan* pow'rs :
 While War's fierce Goddess fires the *Grecian* foe, 595
 And shouts and thunders in the fields below.
 Then great *Diores* fell, by doom divine,
 In vain his valour, and illustrious line.

A broken

V. 585. *But Phæbus now.*] *Homer* here introduces *Apollo* on the side of the *Trojans*: He had given them the assistance of *Mars* at the beginning of the battle; but *Mars* (which signifies courage without conduct) proving too weak to resist *Minerva* (or courage with conduct) which the Poet represents as constantly aiding his *Greeks*; they want some prudent management to rally them again: He therefore brings in *Wisdom* to assist *Mars*, under the appearance of *Apollo*.

V. 592. *Achilles fights no more.*] *Homer* from time to time puts his readers in mind of *Achilles*, during his absence from the war; and finds occasion of celebrating his valour with the highest praises. There cannot be a greater encomium than this, where *Apollo* himself tells the *Trojans* they have nothing to fear, since *Achilles* fights no longer against them. *Dacier*.

A broken rock the force of *Pirus* threw,
 (Who from cold *Ænus* led the *Thracian* crew) 600
 Full on his ankle dropt the pond'rous stone,
 Burst the strong nerves, and crash'd the solid bone :
 Supine he tumbles on the crimson'd sands,
 Before his helpless friends, and native bands,
 And spreads for aids his unavailing hands. 605
 The foe rush'd furious as he pants for breath,
 And thro' his navel drove the pointed death :
 His gushing entrails smoak'd upon the ground,
 And the warm life came issuing from the wound.

His lance bold *Thoas* at the conqu'ror sent, 610
 Deep in his breast above the pap it went,
 Amid the lungs was fix'd the winged wood,
 And quiv'ring in his heaving bosom stood :
 'Till from the dying chief, approaching near,
 Th' *Ætolian* warrior tugg'd his weighty spear : 615
 Then sudden wav'd his flaming faulchion round,
 And gash'd his belly with a ghastly wound.
 The corpse now breathless on the bloody plain,
 To spoil his arms the victor strove in vain ;
 The *Thracian* bands against the victor prest ; 620
 A grove of lances glitter'd at his breast.
 Stern *Thoas*, glaring with revengeful eyes,
 In fullen fury slowly quits the prize.

Thus fell two Heroes ; one the pride of *Thrace*,
 And one the Leader of th' *Epeian* race ; 625
 Death's sable shade at once o'ercaft their eyes,
 In dust the vanquish'd, and the victor lies.
 With copious slaughter all the fields are red,
 And heap'd with growing mountains of the dead.

Had

Had some brave Chief this martial scene beheld,
 By *Pallas* guarded thro' the dreadful field, 631
 Might darts be bid to turn their points away,
 And swords around him innocently play,
 The war's whole art with wonder had he seen,
 And counted Heroes where he counted Men. 635
 So fought each host, with thirst of glory fir'd,
 And crouds on crouds triumphantly expir'd.

V. 630. *Had some brave chief.*] The turning off in this place from the actions of the field, to represent to us a man with security and calmness walking thro' it, without being able to reprehend any thing in the whole action; this is not only a fine praise of the battle; but as it were a breathing-place to the poetical spirit of the author, after having rapidly run along with the heat of the engagement: He seems like one who having got over a part of his journey, stops upon an eminence to look back upon the space he has passed, and concludes the book with an agreeable pause or respite.

The reader will excuse our taking notice of such a trifle, as that it was an old superstition, that this fourth book of the *Iliad*, being laid under the head, was a cure for the *Quartan Ague*. *Serenus Simonides*, a celebrated physician in the time of the younger *Gordian*, and preceptor to that Emperor, has gravely prescribed it among other receipts in his medicinal precepts, *Præc.* 50.

Mæonia Iliados quartum suppose timent.

I believe it will be found a true observation, that there never was any thing so absurd or ridiculous but has at one time or other been written even by some author of reputation: A reflection it may not be improper for writers to make, as being at once some mortification to their vanity, and some comfort to their infirmity.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.



